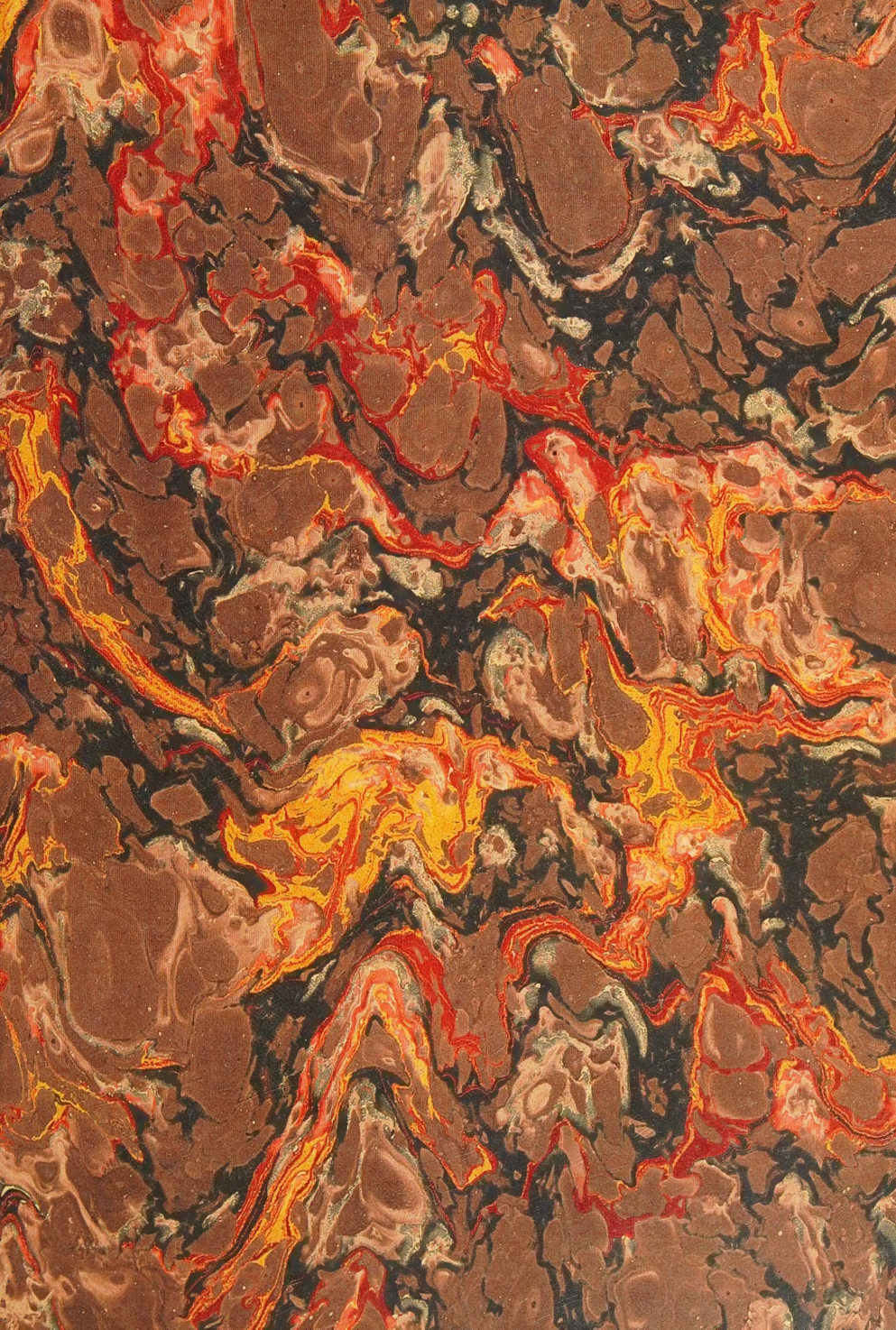

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THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

SIXTEENTH

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

INCLUDING HIS

SPEECHES, MESSAGES, INAUGURALS, PROCLAMATIONS, ETC., ETC.

BY

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AUTHOR OF "OUR GREAT CAPTAINS," "HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES; PHILANTHROPIC RESULTS OF THE WAR," ETC., ETC.

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PREFACE.

"THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN!" and why, pray, add another to the many memoirs of him already published?

Because, dear reader, there was need of just *one* more. Listen, and we will prove it. The memoirs and biographies of our late President, which have already appeared, are, some of them, from able pens, and clearly and fairly accomplish the object for which they were written. Without exception, we believe, they belong to the class of campaign biographies; some written before his first, others during the canvass which preceded his second, election. Their principal object was, of course, political. They have not, we think, dealt in misrepresentation; there was no need of that. But they have presented him as a fit and proper candidate for the office of President of the United States, and for this purpose they have dwelt largely upon his previous political career in Congress; in the Senatorial canvass; in the closing portion of Mr. Buchanan's presidency; and some of them on the stupendous events of the four years of his first administration, and the policy he pursued during that long period of darkness and gloom. This is all right and admirable in its way, and were there any question of a campaign life of the *Good* President, were he still with us, and still a candidate for the highest honors a grateful people could bestow, we should say at once, "that which is written is sufficient; we can add nothing to a record so pure and honorable."

But this is not the time for a campaign life of Abraham

Lincoln. He whom he served with singleness of heart here, hath called him up higher, and henceforth his place is with the glorified, whose brows are illumined with the pure and holy light which proceeds from the throne of God.

We could not if we would, and we would not if we could, attempt a political life of him whose loss we, as well as the nation, most deeply mourn. We have no fondness for the devious track of party politics, no desire to pander to so grovelling and base-born an ambition. But we have loved Abraham Lincoln as a child might love a father; we have confided in him, have trusted his sagacity, have honored his patriotism, have admired that sterling common sense which led him to judge so wisely, to act so honorably and justly, and to meet questions of such difficulty with such a wise and clear discrimination.

We desired to prepare this life of him, that we might exhibit him as he appeared and was, in all the relations of life, a man of the people, hardy, laborious, and self-reliant—a self-made man in the best sense of that title—studious, desirous ever to make up the deficiencies of education entailed by a frontier life, and of a rare teachable spirit; an honest, frank, *manly* man, one in whom his neighbors and friends could trust most implicitly; a pattern man in his fidelity to truth and principle and right. We have sought also to delineate him in his domestic and social relations, as a dutiful son, a kind and tender husband, a loving father, a genial and social friend, with a keen sense of humor, great conversational powers, and a fascinating way which, though his form was ungainly, won him the love of all who were thrown in his society. And it has been our aim also to depict him as he appeared in public life, a clear and lucid speaker, a skilful debater, who won the hearts of his audience to his own side, not by trick or subterfuge, but by his apt and effective way of "putting things;" clinching a point often by a telling illustration, which, however homely it might be, was never out of place; a statesman whose enlarged per-

ceptions and breadth of view took in all the bearings of the great questions which have agitated the public mind in the last five years; a man who, acting slowly, with calmness and great deliberation, never made a mistake in regard to a principle, and never indulged a thought of self, but always sought his country's good; a chief magistrate, who though reviled reviled not again, but with an almost angelic patience, sought to do good to those who despitefully used him; a diplomatist who believed that truth, honesty and frankness were better weapons for managing the intricate questions of our foreign policy, than deceit, duplicity, and "paltering in a double sense." And if some "good angel will guide our pencil while we draw," we would portray him also, as the Christian, in public and private life, seeking counsel from above, and amid all his weighty cares and his wearying burdens, looking to God for guidance, and devoutly acknowledging his indebtedness to him for every blessing. Having thus shown his character as it was in life, we would also venture, though with eyes bedimmed with tears, to draw aside the veil, and describe how the demon slavery, possessing the heart and firing the brain of the wretched assassin, led him to commit a deed which shall consign him to eternal infamy; and how, all over our land, and throughout christendom, at the tidings of his death, a wail of anguish went up to heaven from millions of stricken hearts, who had recognized in him the second founder of the Republic, the Emancipator, the one historic name which shall go down to posterity, linked in our country's history, with that of Washington.

With such a purpose, we submit that there are ample reasons, as there is abundant room, for a new memoir of our martyred President Abraham Lincoln.

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THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

The prominent feature of Abraham Lincoln's life is the fact, that, from first to last, he was a truly representative Man of the People. In whatever position of private life or of public trust he was placed, whether in the frontier cabin, the modest law office at Springfield, the Halls of Legislation, or the Presidential chair at Washington, he always maintained the same truthful and noble character, winning the confidence of the people, and eliciting from all who came in contact with him a degree of personal affection and enthusiasm which has been given to no other American statesman of our day, unless it be to Henry Clay, whom he so highly respected, and, in no slight degree, resembled. The world, indeed, has seen many men, who, by the grace of their manners, the force of their intellect, or the splendor of their achievements, have obtained a strong hold upon the popular heart; yet the homage universally accorded to them was the result rather of a certain *fascination* than of sincere affection. France had her Napoleon, who rose from the people, and adroitly used that fact to subserve his personal ambition; yet he was

not *of* them, although he enjoyed their idolatry. Their national pride was gratified by the dazzling success of one, who, soaring from their own level, had proven himself equal in abilities to the proudest monarchs, the ablest generals, and the most finished statesmen of his time. But the calmer judgment of history, sifting the real from the unreal, will record that the Emperor loved his people, if love it can be called, from motives of self-interest.

Even our own illustrious WASHINGTON, the very Polar Star of American patriotism, honored with an ever increasing fame throughout both continents, represented, in his day, the higher intellectual and social phase of American society, rather than those humbler circles of thought and action in which the masses move and have their being. The influence of gentle blood, the advantages of education, wealth and position, which moulded his earlier life, conspired to make him the representative of the aristocratic class. And though the purity of his personal and public life, his unswerving patriotism, and the power of his well-balanced intellect, gained for him the sincerest affection of his countrymen, that affection ever was, and ever will be, mingled with a species of awe, which seemed to set him apart from ordinary mortals.

But LINCOLN, while living, and yet more truly since his death, holds a not inferior place in the hearts of his countrymen. It has been happily said of him, that "what Robert Burns has proverbially been to the people of his native land, and, to a certain extent, of all lands, as a bard, Abraham Lincoln seems to have become to us as a statesman and a patriot, by his intimate rela-

tions alike with the humbler and the higher walks of life." By the unstudied and truthful exercise of the native talents with which God endowed him, and under circumstances comparatively unfavorable, he was raised, apparently by the continued and universal suffrage of his fellow-citizens, from a place of humble obscurity to a position and a fame equalled only by that of Washington. And the secret of his success was simply this, that he never, for one moment in all his varied experiences, forgot that he was *of* the people; never, in a single instance, neglected their interests. The people, also, fully comprehended him. They remembered that his experiences, whether of gladness or of sorrow, had been the same as theirs; that the great principles of justice and humanity underlying their own happiness, rights and feelings, were deeply enshrined within his heart. They knew, too, that unstained by temptation and unswerved by success, he would always be, as he always had been, the champion and defender of their interests. His identity with the people was such, and such only, as common toils, experiences and emotions could have produced. And in that identity of interest, feeling and purpose, was his power—a power which, from the beginning of his career to the latest hour of his life, was never weakened by the blasts of partisan detraction, or by any demerit of his own.

In person, also, as in principle, he was a truly representative American. His gaunt and bony form, firmly knit by the labor of a frontier life, was, to the people, a constant reminder that his earlier years had been spent amid scenes and trials with which they were themselves familiar. His features were plain and homely, but they

were illumined by thoughtful eyes, tenderly described by one who knew him well, as "the *kindest* eyes that were ever placed in mortal head;" and the habitual sadness of his countenance revealed the man of strong emotions, of earnest purpose, of infinite depth of feeling. His language was always simple, clear and unequivocal; his style of argument familiar, logical, and generally pointed with a quaint illustration, an apt story, or an easy play of humor. His manner was such as might have been expected of the man, cordial, off-hand, yet having an innate refinement which placed others at their ease, and so harmonized and softened his angularities, as to invest with a certain dignity the harsher outlines of his tall and ungainly figure. He had, also, a straightforward way of handling subjects the most complicated and the most important; not with a self-conceited flippancy, but with a sort of every-day-affair ease and simplicity of treatment which seemed suddenly to divest them of all extraneous matters, and to leave them so clearly defined in all their relations, as to excite our surprise and admiration. Indeed, the rare art of "putting things," was possessed by this honest man in an eminent degree. The numerous perplexing questions which were constantly being developed by the progress of the war, were treated by this Illinois lawyer with a freedom and fearlessness which could only have proceeded from a conviction that *principles were always the same*, whatever might be the magnitude of the case in question.

In short, amid the herculean responsibilities of a four years' war, such, for extent and principles involved, as the world had never before seen; amid questions, civil,

military, and political; amid defeats and party clamor; amid a multitude of counsellors and varying counsels; amid the plottings of political generals and the blunders of incompetent commanders, "Honest Abe" was always "master of the position." Purity of intention, directness of purpose, patience and firmness, in every situation and in every emergency, ever marked his course of action. No public man, under the pressure of great responsibilities, adhered more strictly to Col. Crockett's well-known rule of "Be sure you're right, and then go ahead;" and those familiar phrases which were so often on his lips, "We must keep pegging away," and, "I have put my foot down," expressed the patient determination of a loyal but sorely tried heart. There was no Jacksonian swagger of "By the Eternal!" but there was an ever present sense of his accountability to God for his acts, and a practical reliance upon His arm of strength in all that he did, which peculiarly characterized President Lincoln. "Pray for me that I may receive the Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which, success is certain," were his words of farewell to the assembled friends and neighbors who bade him God speed when he left his Springfield home to enter upon the duties of the Presidential chair. And again, four years later, in his second inaugural speech, which now seems to us as one of his last utterances, he thus speaks to a great people, whose sorrows he had borne, and whose success was at hand: "*With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle,*

and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Such, then, was ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the natural outgrowth of free institutions. Indeed, such a character as his could not have been developed amid the deeply worn grooves and the limited influences of European society. It was as peculiarly American in all its features, as are our great mountains, prairies and watercourses; natural in growth, untrammelled in action, easy of adaptation to every varying circumstance of life, fearless in its courage, persistent in its purpose. If there is any truth in the theory that the mental characteristics of men are fashioned by the scenery amidst which they are reared, then must his life and character be taken as typical of our American genius and institutions.

It was this man, so true, so self-poised, so honest—to whom, amid all his weighty responsibilities, no fault is imputed, except that of *too much kindness*—whose life we now purpose to write.

CHAPTER I.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S BOYHOOD IN KENTUCKY.

His Ancestry.—Their Residence in Pennsylvania and Virginia.—His Grandfather moves over into Kentucky.—Is killed by an Indian.—His Widow settles in Washington County.—His son, Thomas Lincoln, marries and locates near Hodgenville.—Birth of Abraham Lincoln.—La Rue County.—His Early Life and Training in Kentucky.—Removal of the Family to Indiana.

THE ancestors of Abraham Lincoln were English, and of Quaker stock,—although the characteristic traits of that sect seem gradually to have disappeared under the stern discipline of the frontier life which fell to the lot of the earlier generations in this new country. We first find definite traces of them in Berks county, Pennsylvania, although it, probably, was not the place of their original settlement in America; and they may have been a branch of the family that settled, at an earlier date, in the Old Plymouth Colony. Indeed, tradition affirms that the Pennsylvania branch was transplanted from Hingham, Mass., and was derived from a common stock with Col. Benjamin Lincoln, of Revolutionary fame. There is, at least, a noticeable coincidence in the general prevalence among each American branch of Scriptural names—the Benjamin, Levi, and Ezra of the Massachusetts family, having their counterpart in the Abraham, Thomas and Josiah of the Virginia and Kentucky race—a peculiarity to have been equally expected among sober Quakers and zealous Puritans.

"Old Berks," first settled in 1734, was not long the home of the Lincoln family, who seem to have emigrated before its organization as a county, in 1752, to what is now known as Rockingham county, Virginia.

Rockingham, now esteemed one of the most productive counties of the State of Virginia, was at that remote period in the very heart of the wilderness; a section, which, intersected by the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah, invited, by its natural resources, the advances of that civilization that even then looked hopefully forward toward the setting sun. And a branch of the family, it is said, yet remains there, enjoying the benefits of the land which their ancestors selected and reclaimed with sturdy toil from its original wildness.

The Lincolns, however, were evidently of the stern old pioneer stock, which God seems to send into the world to break a way for the advance of a superior civilization; men who naturally court the adventure, the danger and the hardship of a frontier life, and who, having wrested a home from the wild elements of nature, straightway lose the desire of possession, and willingly relinquish all which they have gained for the sake of new excitements.

Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather of our subject, was of this class—a frontiersman, in the truest sense, whose rough but healthful life had been spent in felling the woods, in clearing the land which formed his homestead in the Shenandoah Valley—that valley since rendered so memorable in the war which his grandson has conducted in behalf of the Union and Universal Liberty—in hunting the abundant game, and in the hazards of an un-

certain war with lurking savages. It is not surprising, then, that, to a man of such training and disposition, the glowing descriptions which, from about 1769 to 1780, began to spread throughout the older settlements concerning the incredible richness and beauty of the then recently-explored Kentucky Valley, should have possessed an irresistible charm! Perhaps, also, the settlements around him had already begun to be too far advanced for the highest enjoyment of his characteristic mode of life; for such men, when they begin to hear the axes of neighbors echoing around them, and from their cabin-doors can see the blue smoke curling upwards from other chimnies than their own, are apt to feel the need of "more elbow-room," and to take up their line of march for "solitudes more profound."

We must, also, in this case, take into consideration the fact that the first explorer of this Kentucky paradise, Daniel Boone, whose very name suggests a whole world of romantic adventure, was a neighbor of the Lincolns—having removed, when quite a lad, among the earlier emigrants from Eastern Pennsylvania to Berks county. Here he must have been a contemporary resident, and perhaps an acquaintance, in those familiar times when every one knew every one else in the same county. At all events, the Berks county people watched with eager interest and sympathy the adventurous career of Boone; and his achievements undoubtedly suggested new attractions to the more active and daring spirits among his boyhood companions, whose ideal of manhood he so nearly approached.

At this date, and for ten or twelve years later, the present State of Kentucky formed a part of the old

commonwealth of Virginia, and was a common territory and place of meeting for the Indian tribes both of the north and south. This "dark and bloody ground," as it has been most appropriately called, was already famous as the scene of many exciting adventures and deadly conflicts between the white man and the redskin; and Boone, Harrod, Floyd, and other brave spirits were still in the midst of the great struggles which have imperishably associated their names with the history of the country. Thitherward, from the borders of the surrounding Colonies, from every direction, and from hundreds of miles distance, the tide of emigration had now begun. The emigrants were from that hardy class of frontiersmen most inured to the toils which awaited them in the new Kentucky forests; and they pressed forward fearless of the dangers which surrounded their pathway. Among them was Abraham Lincoln, who, about 1780, established a home for his small family somewhere on Floyd's creek, and probably near its mouth, in what is now Bullitt county. Here, amid incredible hardships and dangers, the relation of which seem to us, in these days, like the mutterings of a far-off troubled dream, he erected his rude dwelling and made a beginning in his new pioneer labors. But, the hopes which led to this change of his home were destined never to be fulfilled. His cabin, isolated from its neighbors by a distance of several miles, was a dangerous dwelling in a region infested by roving savages, whose blind instinct of revenge was perpetually searching for a pale-face victim on whom to sate its fury. And, while at work, one day, at a distance from his home, the skulking Indian crept upon him unawares, and his scalped

and lifeless body was found by his family on the following morning. This took place in the year 1784, or very near that time, when he was probably not more than thirty-five years of age. His suddenly-bereaved widow, with three sons and two daughters left to her protection and care, and with but slender means for their support, soon removed to Washington county, in the same State, where she reared her children, all of whom reached mature age. The daughters, in due time, were married, and the three sons, Thomas, Mordecai, and Josiah, all remained in Kentucky until after they attained their majority.

Thomas Lincoln, one of these sons, and the parent of the illustrious President, was born in 1778, and was but six years old at the time of his father's untimely death. Of his early life, we have no knowledge except what we may learn by inference from the general lot of his class, and of the habits and modes of living then prevalent among the hardy pioneers of Kentucky. These backwoodsmen had an unceasing round of toil, with no immediate reward but a bare subsistence, from year to year, and the cheering promise of "better days in store." And, although more comfortable days, and a much improved condition of things, had come before Thomas Lincoln arrived at maturity, yet his boyhood must have had a full share of the trials and penury incident to the lot of the first generation of Kentuckians, with few other enjoyments than the occasional "shooting match" or "wedding frolic." He belonged to the generation which was cotemporary with the independent existence of the nation, and which largely partook of the exultant spirit of self-confidence then prevalent

throughout the land. And, as he grew to manhood, the currents of emigration into the State had enlarged and accelerated, until, in 1800, when he had attained the age of twenty-two, its population numbered two hundred and twenty thousand, and the wilderness began to blossom as the rose. Rapid, however as was this growth, there still was ample unoccupied space within the limits of the new State for those whose free spirit rejoiced in the "trackless woods," and craved the excitement and the loneliness of a home in the wilderness.

In 1806, Thomas Lincoln, being then twenty-eight years of age, was married to Nancy Hanks, a native of Virginia—of his own station in life—and, as there is reason to believe, possessed of rare qualities of mind and heart; but dying at an early age, and having, from the time of her marriage, passed her days upon the obscure frontiers, few recollections of her are now accessible.

The young couple were plain people, members of the Baptist church, and about equally educated. The wife could read, but not write; while her husband could manage his own name as a penman, but, it is said, in a style more perplexing than readable. Nevertheless, he could fully appreciate the value of a better education than he himself possessed, and was not devoid of that truly democratic reverence which can bow before superior mental attainments in others. He was, besides, an industrious, cheerful, kind-hearted man. His wife was a woman of excellent judgment, sound sense, and proverbial piety; an excellent helpmeet for a backwoodsman of Thomas Lincoln's stamp, and a mother whose

piety and affection must have been of inestimable value in the shaping and directing of her children's destinies.

Abraham Lincoln was born of these parents on the 12th day of February, 1809. The place where they at this time resided, is in what is now La Rue county, about a mile and a half from Hodgenville, the county seat, and seven miles from Elizabethtown, laid off several years previously, and the county seat of Hardin county. One sister, two years his senior, who grew up to womanhood, married, and died while young; and a brother, two years younger than himself, who died in early childhood, and whose now unmarked grave, Mr. Lincoln remembers to have visited along with his mother before leaving Kentucky, were the only children of Thomas Lincoln, either by this or by a subsequent marriage. ABRAHAM has thus, for a long time, been the sole immediate representative of this hardy and energetic race.

La Rue county, so named from an early settler, John La Rue, was set off and separately organized in 1843, the portion containing Mr. Lincoln's birthplace having been, up to that date, included in Hardin county. It is a rich grazing country in its more rolling or hilly parts, and the level surface produces good crops of corn and tobacco. Hodgenville, near which Mr. Lincoln was born, is a pleasantly situated town on Nolin creek, and a place of considerable business. About a mile above this town, on the creek, is a mound, or knoll, thirty feet above the banks of the stream, containing two acres of level ground, at the top of which there is now a house. Some of the early pioneers encamped on this knoll; and but a short distance from it a fort was

erected by Philip Phillips, an emigrant from Pennsylvania, about 1780 or 1781, near the time Mr. Lincoln's ancestor arrived from Virginia. John La Rue came from the latter State, with a company of emigrants, who settled about the same time, at Phillips' Fort. Robert Hodgen, La Rue's brother-in-law, purchased and occupied the land on which Hodgenville is built. Both of these pioneers were men of sterling integrity, high moral worth, and consistent and zealous members of the Baptist church; and one of their associates, Benjamin Lynn, was a minister of the same persuasion. Such were the influences under which, more than twenty years before Thomas Lincoln settled there, this little colony had been founded, and which went far to give the community its permanent character.

It is needless to rehearse the kind of life in which Abraham Lincoln was here trained. The picture is similar in all such settlements. In his case, there was indeed the advantage of a generation or two of progress, since his grandfather had hazarded and lost his life in the then slightly broken wilderness. The State now numbered about four hundred thousand inhabitants, and had all the benefits of an efficient local administration, the want of which had greatly increased the dangers and difficulties of the first settlers. Henry Clay, it may here be appropriately mentioned, had already, though little more than thirty years of age, begun his brilliant political career, having then served for a year or two in the United States Senate.

Yet, with all these changes, the humble laborers, settled near "Hodgen's Mills," on Nolin creek, had no other lot but incessant toil, and a constant struggle

with nature in the still imperfectly reclaimed wilds, for a plain subsistence. Here the boy spent the first years of his childhood. Before the date of his earliest distinct recollections, however, he removed with his father to a place six miles distant from Hodgenville, which was ere long surrendered, as we shall presently see, for a home in the far-off wilderness, and for frontier life, in its fullest and most significant meaning.

Abraham Lincoln's Kentucky life, then, extended only through a period of about seven years, terminating with the autumn of 1816. And if, as has been asserted by some philosophic minds, the experiences and instructions of the first seven years of every person's existence, do more to mould and determine his subsequent general character, then we must regard Mr. Lincoln as a Kentuckian (of the generation next succeeding that of Clay), by his early impressions and discipline, no less than by birth.

These were the days, it must be remembered, when common schools were unknown. Yet education was not undervalued or neglected among these rude foresters; nor did young Lincoln, limited as were his opportunities, grow up an illiterate boy. Itinerant, but competent teachers were accustomed to offer their services, and opened private schools in the new settlements, being supported by tuition fees, or a subscription.

During his boyhood in Kentucky, Abraham Lincoln attended at different times at least two schools of this description, of which he had clear recollections. One of these was kept by Zachariah Riney, who although himself an ardent Roman Catholic, made no proselyting efforts in his school, and when any little religious cere-

monies, perhaps mere catechising and the like, were to be gone through with, all the Protestant children, of whom, it is needless to say that young "Abe" was one, were allowed to retire. Riney was probably in some way connected with the movements of the "Trappists," who came to Kentucky in the autumn of 1805, and founded an establishment (afterward abandoned) on Pottinger's creek. They were active in promoting education, especially among the poorer classes, and had a school for boys under their immediate supervision. This, however, had been abandoned before the date of Lincoln's first school-days, and it is not improbable that the private schools under Catholic teachers were an offshoot of the original system adopted by the Trappists, who subsequently removed to Illinois.

Another teacher, on whose instruction the boy afterward attended, while living in Kentucky, was named Caleb Hazel. His was also a neighborhood school, sustained by private patronage.

With the aid of these two schools, and such assistance as he received from his parents at home, he had become able to read well, though without having made any great literary progress, at the age of seven. That he was neither a dull or inapt scholar, is manifest from his subsequent attainments. With the allurements of the rifle and the wild game which abounded in the country, however, and with his meagre advantages in regard to books, it is probable that his perceptive faculties and muscular powers were more fully developed than his scholastic talents.

It is worthy of remark, also, that while he lived in Kentucky, he never saw even the exterior of what was

properly a church edifice; and the few religious services which he had an opportunity to attend, were held either in humble private dwellings, or in some log school-house.

Another change of home, however, awaited our young hero. His father, perhaps from the old restless spirit of adventure, but more probably because he found life in a slave State a most unsatisfactory one for himself, and presenting only the prospect of a hopeless struggle in the future for his children, determined upon removal to the wilds of Indiana, where free labor would have no competition with slave labor, and the poor white man might reasonably hope that, in time, his children could take an honorable position, won by industry and careful economy.

So, having sold his Kentucky farm, as the story goes, for ten barrels of whiskey (forty gallons each) valued at two hundred and eighty dollars, besides twenty dollars in money,* and having made a trial trip to Indiana to select a location to his liking, which he found in what is now Spencer county, he made his preparations to remove his family to their new home.

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* Although this story has been discredited by some, yet as such transactions in the disposal of real estate were not uncommon at that period, we see no reason to doubt it, nor to consider it as prejudicial to Thomas Lincoln's character; for it must be remembered that those days were *not* the days of temperance and "Total Abstinence."

CHAPTER II.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S THIRTEEN YEARS IN INDIANA.

Removal of the Lincoln Family to Spencer county, Indiana.—Abraham as a Farm Boy.—As a Marksman.—The Death of his Mother.—The second Marriage of his Father.—Abraham's Education.—His own Account, when President, of his Education.—His Love of Books.—The Story of the Damaged Book.—His Voyage to New Orleans as a Flatboatman.—Description of Early Times and Scenes in Indiana.

EARLY in the autumn of 1816, the Lincoln family, bidding adieu to their old Kentucky home, commenced a long and wearisome journey toward the forests of southern Indiana. The plain wagon, with its simple covering, contained the "household goods," and sheltered the wife and daughter, while the father and his son, who was now in his ninth year, walked beside the horse which steadily drew the family conveyance, or took care that the indispensable cow kept pace to the music of the jolting wheels. Arriving at the proper landing on the banks of the Ohio, the little caravan was embarked upon a flatboat, and floated across the stream, now swelled to fair proportions by the autumn rains. Finally reaching the Indiana side, the adventurers landed at or near the mouth of Anderson's creek, now the boundary between the counties of Perry and Spencer, about one hundred and forty miles below Louisville, by the river, and sixty above Evansville. In a direct line across the country from their former residence, the

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distance is perhaps hardly one hundred miles, yet the journey had occupied them a whole week.

The place where Mr. Lincoln settled at the end of his journey, was near the present town of Gentryville, some distance back from the Ohio river, and was, under the earliest organization, in Perry county. Two years later, however, Spencer county was formed, embracing all that part of Perry west of Anderson's creek, and including the place of Mr. Lincoln's location.

Here, then, his emigrant wagon paused; and soon, with the help of his youthful son, a log cabin was built, which was to be their rough but comfortable home for many coming years.

This done, and a shelter provided for their cattle, the next work was to clear an opening in the forest, upon which to raise a crop of grain for their sustenance during the next season. Hard work had now begun in good earnest for the young Kentuckian, and the realities of genuine pioneer life were to be brought home to his comprehension in a very practical manner.

Indiana, at this date, was still a Territory, having been originally united under the same government with Illinois, after the admission of Ohio as a State, "the first-born of the great Northwest," in 1802. A separate territorial organization was made for each in 1809. In June, 1816, pursuant to a Congressional "enabling act," a Convention had been held which adopted a State Constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union, and under this Constitution, a month or two after Thomas Lincoln's arrival, in December, 1816, Indiana became, by act of Congress, a sovereign State. Its population, at this time, was about sixty-five thousand, distributed

chiefly south of a straight line drawn from Vincennes, on the Wabash, to Lawrenceburg, on the Ohio.

"The next thirteen years Abraham Lincoln spent here, in southern Indiana, near the Ohio, nearly midway between Louisville and Evansville. He was now old enough to begin to take an active part in the farm labors of his father, and he manfully performed his share of hard work. He learned to use the axe and to hold the plow. He became inured to all the duties of seed-time and harvest. On many a day, during every one of those thirteen years, this Kentucky boy might have been seen, with a long 'gad' in his hand, driving his father's team in the field, or from the woods with a heavy draught, or on the rough path to the mill, the store, or the river landing; very probably at times, in the language of the Hoosier bard, descriptive of such pioneer workers in general:

"'———*sans* shoes or socks on,
With snake-pole and a yoke of oxen.'

"A vigorous constitution, and a cheerful, unrepining disposition, made all his labors comparatively light. To such a one, this sort of life has in it much of pleasant excitement to compensate for its hardships. He learned to derive enjoyment from the severest lot. The 'dignity of labor,' which is with demagogues such hollow cant, became to him a true and appreciable reality." Thus, by hardy out-door labor and exercise he laid the foundation of that iron constitution which proved such a blessing throughout his whole life, enabling him to endure fatigue and care to which an ordinary frame would have succumbed.

About this time, also, he took a start as a hunter, which was never much improved afterward. One day, toward the close of his eighth year, while his father happened to be absent, a flock of wild turkeys approached the cabin, and Abraham, standing inside, took aim with a rifle through a crevice of the log-house, and succeeded in killing one of the fowls. This was his first shot at living game, and, according to his own account, he has never since pulled a trigger on larger; but we can imagine, and participate in, the pride with which he exhibited his trophy to his delighted parents.

In the autumn of 1818, Abraham had the misfortune to lose his excellent mother. She was a truly noble woman, as her son's life attested. From her came that deep and abiding reverence for holy things—that profound trust in Providence and faith in the triumph of truth—and that gentleness and amiability of temper which, in the lofty station of Chief Magistrate, he displayed so strikingly during years of most appalling responsibility. From her he derived the spirit of humor and the desire to see others happy, which afterward formed so prominent a trait in his character. Though uneducated in books, she was wise in the wisdom of experience and truth, and was to her son a faithful mentor as well as a good mother. He never ceased to mourn her loss, and ever cherished her memory with the tenderest affection and respect. A year after her death, his father married Mrs. Sally Johnson, at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, a widow, with three children by her first marriage. She proved a good and kind mother to Abraham, and has lived to see him occupying the chief position in the land, and in the hearts of his

countrymen. There were no children by this second marriage.

Here, during his residence in Evansville, Mr. Lincoln's education may properly be said to have commenced. It is true that the schools of his neighborhood were of the same class, and little better than those in Kentucky, yet, aided by what he had already acquired, he managed to increase his slender stock of learning. His teachers, while here, were Andrew Crawford, —— Sweeney, and Azel W. Dorsey, the latter of whom has lived to see his whilom pupil a giant leader among the people.

Abraham had achieved the art of reading before his own mother's death; and, subsequently, by the assistance of a young man of the neighborhood, had learned to write, an accomplishment which some of the friendly neighbors thought unnecessary, but his father quietly persisted, and the boy was set down as a prodigy when he wrote to an old friend of his mother's, a travelling preacher, and begged him to come and preach a sermon over his mother's grave. Three months after, Parson Elkins came, and friends assembled, a year after her death, to pay a last tribute of respect to one universally beloved and respected. Her son's share in securing the presence of the clergyman was not unmentioned, and Abraham soon found himself called upon to write letters for his neighbors.

So, when Mr. Crawford came into the vicinity, and at the solicitation of the people of the settlement, opened a school in his own cabin, Abraham's father embraced the opportunity to send him, in order that he might add some knowledge of arithmetic to his reading and writing. With buckskin clothes, a raccoon skin cap, and an old

arithmetic which had been somewhere found for him, he commenced his studies in the "higher branches." His progress was rapid, and his perseverance and faithfulness won the interest and esteem of his teacher.

Probably the most interesting period in the biography of a great man—be he student, statesman or soldier—is when the desire of honor first touches his heart-strings, and when the first little "sip" at the fountain of knowlege, has developed a thirst which would drink deeply and forever. For it is at this critical moment—that of the charming, yet dangerous first draught—that we seem to behold the germ, the incipient dawn, as it were, of those after-deeds which are to shed lustre upon the man's life, and upon the world in which he lives and acts. Our curiosity is awakened to learn what were his first loves in the way of books, human characters, and the visible objects of the natural universe. For knowing these, it is a pleasure to look back upon and compare them with our own experiences, or with the similar characteristics of those who have been numbered among the world's great men.

In spite, however, of his father's care to give him every facility for the acquirement of an education which was within his reach, as well as of his own assiduity and thirst for knowledge, little Abraham's opportunities must have been extremely limited, for he was accustomed to say, in after life, that he thought the aggregate of all his schooling did not amount to one year. He was never in a college or academy as a student, and never inside a college or academy till since he had a law-license; and what he had in the way of education, was picked up in his own way. After he was twenty-three,

and had separated from his father, he studied English grammar, imperfectly, of course, but so as to speak and write as well as he did. He studied, and nearly mastered, the six books of Euclid after he arrived at manhood.

In this connection we may be permitted to quote the following interesting narrative concerning Mr. Lincoln's education and early experiences, as elicited from him by the Rev. J. P. Gulliver, during a lengthy personal interview. It is especially valuable as throwing more light upon the President's peculiar mental constitution than we have found elsewhere :—

"'I want very much to know, Mr. Lincoln, how you got this unusual power of "putting things." It must have been a matter of education. No man has it by nature alone. What has your education been?'

"'Well, as to education, the newspapers are correct—I never went to school more than twelve months in my life. But, as you say, this must be a product of culture in *some* form. I have been putting the question you ask me, to myself, while you have been talking. I can say this, that among my earliest recollections, I remember how, when a mere child, I used to get irritated when anybody talked to me in a way I could not understand. I don't think I ever got angry at any thing else in my life. But that always disturbed my temper, and has ever since. I can remember going to my little bed-room, after hearing the neighbors talk, of an evening, with my father, and spending no small part of the night walking up and down, and trying to make out what was the exact meaning of some of their, to me, dark sayings. I could not sleep, though I often tried to, when I got on such a hunt after an idea, until I had caught it; and when I thought I had got it, I was not satisfied until I had repeated it over and over, until I had put it in

language plain enough, as I thought, for any boy I knew to comprehend. This was a kind of passion with me, and it has since stuck by me, for I am never easy now, when I am handling a thought, till I have bounded it north and bounded it south, and bounded it east and bounded it west. Perhaps that accounts for the characteristic you observe in my speeches, though I never put the things together before.'

"'Mr. Lincoln, I thank you for this. It is the most splendid educational fact I ever happened upon. This is *genius*, with all its impulsive, inspiring, dominating power over the mind of its possessor, developed by education into *talent*, with its uniformity, its permanence, and its disciplined strength, always ready, always available, never capricious—the highest possession of the human intellect. But let me ask, did you not have a law education? How did you prepare for your profession?'

"'Oh, yes. I "read law," as the phrase is; that is, I became a lawyer's clerk in Springfield, and copied tedious documents, and picked up what I could of law in the intervals of other work. But your question reminds me of a bit of education I had, which I am bound in honesty to mention. In the course of my law-reading, I constantly came upon the word *demonstrate*. I thought, at first, that I understood its meaning, but soon became satisfied that I did not. I said to myself, "what do I do when I *demonstrate*, more than when I *reason or prove?* How does *demonstration* differ from any other proof? I consulted Webster's Dictionary. That told of "certain proof," "proof beyond the possibility of doubt;" but I could form no idea what sort of proof that was. I thought a great many things were proved beyond a possibility of doubt, without recourse to any such extraordinary process of reasoning as I understood "demonstration" to be. I consulted all the dictionaries and books of reference I could find, but with no better results. You might as well have defined *blue* to a blind man. At last I said, "Lincoln, you can never make a lawyer if you do not understand what *demonstrate* means," and I left my

situation in Springfield, went home to my father's house, and stayed there till I could give any propositions in the six books of Euclid at sight. I then found out what "demonstrate" means, and went back to my law studies.'

"I could not refrain from saying, in my admiration of such a development of character and genius combined, 'Mr. Lincoln, your success is no longer a marvel. It is the legitimate result of adequate causes. You deserve it all, and a great deal more. If you will permit me I would like to use this fact publicly. It will be most valuable in inciting our young men to that patient classical and mathematical culture which most minds absolutely require. No man can talk well unless he is able, first of all, to define to himself what he is talking about. Euclid, well studied, would free the world of half its calamities, by banishing half the nonsense which now deludes and curses it. I have often thought that Euclid would be one of the best books to put on the catalogue of the Tract Society, if they could only get people to read it. It would be a means of grace.'

"'I think so,' said he, laughing; 'I vote for Euclid.'"

Books of course, were his great delight, and the procuring of a sufficient number of them to employ his mind, one of his principal anxieties. In this his father did much to aid him, and whenever he heard of any particular volume which he thought desirable, or for which Abraham asked, he always endeavored to obtain it for the use of his son. His teacher, Mr. Crawford, also frequently loaned him books which he could not otherwise have procured.

In this way he became aquainted with Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Æsop's Fables,* a Life of Henry

* May we not presume this selection to be an indication of that love for anecdote which has made our Chief Magistrate so distinguished as a relater of pithy stories.

Clay,* and Weems' Life of Washington. The "hatchet" story of Washington, which has probably done more to make boys truthful, than a hundred solemn exhortations, made a strong impression upon Abraham, and was undoubtedly, one of those unseen, gentle influences which helped to form his character for integrity and honesty. Its effect may be traced in the following story, which bids fair to become as never-failing an accompaniment to a Life of Lincoln, as the hatchet story is to that of Washington.

Mr. Crawford had lent him a copy of Ramsey's Life of Washington, the only copy known to be in existence in the neighborhood. Before he had finished reading the book, it was left one night, by a not unnatural oversight, in a window, and the next morning it was found to be soaked through with water. The wind had changed, the rain had beaten in through a crack in the logs, and the book was ruined. How could he face the owner under such circumstances? He had no money to offer as a return, but he took the book, went directly to Mr. Crawford, showed him the irreparable injury, and frankly and honestly offered to work for him until he should be satisfied.

"Well, Abe," said Crawford, "as it's you I won't be hard on you; come over and pull fodder for me for two days, and we will call our accounts even!"

The offer was accepted, and the engagement literally fulfilled.

The book was of course worth the labor, and there is

* This fact may be significant when we reflect that Mr. Lincoln always remained an admirer of Mr. Clay, and that he was afterward a "Clay Whig."

therefore nothing to be admired in the way of generosity. But the honorable part of the incident lies in the quick acknowledgment of the injury Abraham had caused to the book, and the eagerness he displayed to furnish its owner an equivalent for its value. It was simply characteristic of the honorable conscientiousness, integrity and industry which so distinguished him in after-life.

At the age of nineteen, Abraham, then a full-grown, active and intelligent young man, was permitted to see more of the world, and made a trip down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, to New Orleans, as one of the hands on a flatboat. The excursion, while it gratified the love of adventure natural to his years, undoubtedly added to his stock of useful information, and served in no slight degree to develop that spirit of intelligent observation and self-reliance which contributed so much to his subsequent success in life.

In concluding this sketch of the thirteen important years spent by Mr. Lincoln as an Indianian, we cannot refrain from presenting to our readers the following graphic personal recollections of a distinguished lawyer* who emigrated to that State about the same time, inasmuch as they will naturally aid in conveying a correct impression of those times, as well as of the circumstances with which Lincoln's youth was surrounded.

"Indiana was born in the year 1816, with some sixty-five thousand inhabitants—only about forty years ago. A few counties only were then organized. The whole middle, north

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* Early Indian Trials and Sketches. Reminiscences, by Hon. O. H. Smith, page 285.

and northwest portions of the State were an unbroken wilderness, in the possession of the Indians. Well do I remember when there were but two families settled west of the Whitewater Valley—one at Flat Rock above where Rushville now stands, and the other on Brandywine, near where Greenfield was afterwards located. When I first visited the ground on which Indianapolis now stands, the whole country, east to Whitewater and west to the Wabash, was a dense unbroken forest. There were no public roads, no bridges over any of the streams. The traveler had literally to swim his way. No cultivated farms, no houses to shelter or feed the weary traveler or his jaded horse. The courts, years afterward, were held in log huts, and the juries sat under the shade of the forest trees. I was Circuit Prosecuting Attorney at the time of the trials at the falls of Fall creek, where Pendleton now stands. Four of the prisoners were convicted of murder, and three of them hung, for killing Indians. The court was held in a double log-cabin, the grand-jury sat upon a log in the woods, and the foreman signed the bills of indictment which I had prepared upon his knee; there was not a petit-juror that had shoes on—all wore moccasins, and were belted around the waist, and carried side knives used by the hunter. The products of the country consisted of peltries, the wild game killed in the forest by the Indian hunters, the fish caught in the interior lakes, rivers, and creeks, the pawpaw, wild plum, haws, small berries gathered by the squaws in the woods. The travel was confined to the single horse and his rider, the commerce to the pack-saddle, and the navigation to the Indian canoe. Many a time and oft have I crossed our swollen streams, by day and by night, sometimes swimming my horse and at others paddling the rude bark canoe of the Indian. Such is a mere sketch of our State when I traversed its wilds, and I am not one of its first settlers."

Amid such scenes, and in this rough but natural state of society, young Lincoln reached the verge of man-

hood, with a strong and muscular frame, a rugged constitution, a frank and courteous heart and demeanor, and a character conspicuous for honesty and energy. Indeed, if we may believe the statements of those who knew him at this early period, this stalwart stripling, who, even then, stood nearly six feet and four inches high, was no less remarkable for his mental and moral characteristics than for his physical proportions. Already, albeit unknown to himself and unsuspected by others, the training of that rough experience through which he was passing, was insensibly, but no less surely, moulding both body and mind into perfect fitness for the high and noble destiny which awaited him in the future. God had set him apart for a special work upon this earth—a work full of importance, not to himself alone, but to his country, to humanity itself—and, looking at his now perfectly completed life, we can see how, step by step, every phase of his varied experience was made subservient to his proper preparation for that work.

CHAPTER III.

LINCOLN IN ILLINOIS, AS A RAIL-SPLITTER, A CLERK, AND A VOLUNTEER.

Removal of the Family to Illinois.—Abraham figures as a Rail-Splitter.—As a Hunter.—Another Removal of his Father.—Abraham commences Life on his own Account.—Makes a Trip to New Orleans.—Becomes a Clerk in a Country Store.—Is elected Captain of a Volunteer Company and serves in the Black Hawk War.—Anecdote concerning his temperate Habits.—His own humorous Account of his Services in this War.—His Character as a Soldier.

PUBLIC attention in the western and southern country now began to be attracted, more decidedly than before, to the vast resources and fertile "bottom lands" of Illinois. This State, organized as a Territory in 1809, and admitted into the Union nine years later, in 1818, had, even as late as 1820, only a population of fifty-five thousand two hundred and eleven; and this was almost exclusively located south of the National Road, which crosses the Kaskaskia river at Vandalia, extending nearly due west to Alton. Notwithstanding the severe labors of opening the forests on the rich western soil, and the long period that must necessarily elapse before the perfect subjugation of the land into cultivated farms, there seems to have been a general avoidance, even to comparatively a late period, of the open prairie, which is now thought to offer such pre-eminent facilities for cultivation, with almost immediate repayment for the toil bestowed. The settlers who had gone into Illinois,

evidently placed a low estimate upon the prairie lands, and always settled on the banks of some stream, on which there was plenty of timber, seeking the forest by preference for their homes. The open character of the country undoubtedly repelled emigration, and caused it to be concentrated on the chief streams, for a long time, until at last it commenced in earnest.

The earliest waves of this emigration, as in the case of Indiana, came from Virginia and Kentucky, so that the character of its society and legislation was strongly colored by the southern element. While there was still discernible a lurking attachment to the peculiar institutions of the States on the other side of the Ohio river, the general tenor of public sentiment and action was as positive and distinct as were the opinions of the northern settlers of these new commonwealths. Yet the views of slavery at that time prevalent in southern Indiana and Illinois, were not much diverse from those which were entertained in the communities from which these settlers had come. Slavery was regarded as an evil to be rid of; and to make sure of this, those who were not already too much entangled with it, left in large numbers for a region which, by request of Virginia herself, the donor, was "forever" protected from the inroads of this moral and social mischief.

From 1820 to 1830, however, there was a marked extension of settlements northward, toward the centre of the State, and along the Mississippi to Galena, where the mines were beginning to be worked. The rivers along which the principal settlements had been made, aside from the great boundary rivers, the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Wabash, were the Kaskaskia, the

Embarras, and the Sangamon, together with their branches. A few settlements, also, had been in the Rock river country, and in the range of Peoria,—and the population thus distributed had now (1830) reached one hundred and fifty-seven thousand four hundred and forty-five.

The brothers of Thomas Lincoln had previously removed to a more northern direction in Indiana than that which he had occupied, both settling in the Blue river country—Mordecai in Hancock county, where he soon after died, and Josiah in Harrison county. Whether their example had its influence upon Thomas, or whether the nomadic spirit which was a part of his character reasserted its sway over him, we do not know; but whatever may have been the cause, immediate or remote, he left Indiana in the spring of 1830, to seek another place of abode in the State of Illinois. In addition to his own family, he was accompanied by those of the two daughters and sons-in-law of his second wife. The journey, which occupied fifteen days, was accomplished by ox-teams. Abraham at this time was twenty-one years of age.

Mr. Lincoln "had seen the growth of Kentucky from almost the very start to a population of nearly seven hundred thousand, and he had lived in Indiana from the time its inhabitants numbered only sixty-five thousand until they had reached nearly three hundred and fifty thousand. As he first set his foot within the limits of Illinois, its vast territory had comparatively but just begun to be occupied—scarcely at all, as we have seen, except in the extreme southern portion, and here almost exclusively along the principal streams. In a country

so poorly supplied with wood and water as Illinois, such sites would naturally be the first to be taken up, and, with a prairie addition, suited the tastes even of those to whom the level open country was forbidding in appearance.

"Mr. Lincoln pushed forward to the central part of the State where such locations were still abundant. A more beautiful country than that of the Sangamon valley could not easily have been anywhere discovered by an explorer. It was not strange that the report of such lands, if he heard it in his southern Indiana home, should have attracted even so far one who was bred to pioneer life and inherited a migratory disposition. He first settled on the Sangamon 'bottom, in Macon county.

"Passing over the Illinois Central railroad, as you approach Decatur, the county-seat of Macon, from the south, a slightly-broken country is reached two or three miles from that place, and presently the North Fork of the Sangamon, over which you pass, a mile from the town. This stream flows westwardly, uniting with the South Fork, near Jamestown, ten miles from Springfield. Following down this North Fork for a distance of about ten miles from Decatur, you come to the immediate vicinity of the first residence of Abraham Lincoln (with his father's family) in Illinois."

During the first season of their abode in the new State Abraham continued to help his father in the farm work; and one of the first duties which presented itself was the necessity of fencing a field on the rich bottom-lands which had been selected for cultivation. For this purpose, with the help of one laborer, Abraham Lincoln at

HOME OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AT SPRINGFIELD.

this time split THREE THOUSAND RAILS—a task indicative of his energy and perseverance no less than of his great physical strength and endurance. The hand who assisted him in the exploit, named John Hanks, a distant relative of his mother, is yet living, and bears unqualified testimony to the earnest strength with which the maul and the wedge were wielded by the future President. These rails afterward became the theme of joke, song and story. During the Presidential campaign of 1860, Mr. Lincoln was accidentally present at the sitting of the Republican State Convention at Decatur—near his old Sangamon home—and was received with the greatest enthusiasm. He had scarcely taken his seat when Mr. Oglesby, of Decatur, announced to the delegates that an old Democrat of Macon county, who had grown gray in the service of that party, desired to make a contribution to the convention, and the offer being accepted, forthwith two old-time fence-rails, decorated with flags and streamers, were borne through the crowd into the Convention, bearing the inscription:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
THE RAIL CANDIDATE
FOR PRESIDENT IN 1860.

Two Rails from a lot of three thousand made in 1830 by John Hanks and Abe. Lincoln—whose Father was the first pioneer of Macon County.

The effect was electrical. One spontaneous burst of applause went up from all parts of the "wigwam," which grew more and more deafening as it was prolonged, and which did not wholly subside for ten or

fifteen minutes after. The cheers upon cheers which rent the air could have been heard all over the adjacent country. Of course "Old Abe" was called out, and made an explanation of the matter. He stated that, some thirty years ago, then just emigrating to the State, he stopped with his mother's family, for one season, in what is now Macon county; that he built a cabin, *split rails*, and cultivated a small farm down on the Sangamon river, some six or eight miles from Decatur. These rails, he was informed, were taken from that fence; but, whether they were or not, he had mauled many and much better ones since he had grown to manhood. His remarks were received with applause, and "*the rails*" were thenceforth in demand in every State of the Union in which industry is honored, where they were borne in processions of the people, and hailed by hundreds of thousands as a symbol of triumph, and as a glorious vindication of freedom and of the rights and dignity of free labor.

To return, however, to the settlers on the Sangamon. Having built their cabin and fenced their farm, they broke the ground, and raised a crop of sod-corn on it the first year, the sons-in-law, meantime, having settled at other places in the country. A hard siege of fever and ague afflicted the new settlers before the close of the first autumn, which so greatly discouraged them that they determined to seek a more congenial location. They remained, however, through the succeeding winter, which was the season of the "deep snow" of Illinois. For three weeks, or more, the snow was three feet deep upon a level, and the weather intensely cold. There was great consequent suffering entailed upon beasts as

well as men—all being totally unprepared for such extraordinary severity of climate. Our pioneers were fortunate in having a sufficient supply of corn, but they had laid up an insufficient quantity of meat, and the deep snow seriously interfered with their dependence upon their rifles. Abraham, however, willingly braved any and every hardship to relieve their household wants, and by his untiring exertions, managed to furnish enough game to keep the family in food, though he was not a first-rate hunter, his love for books having early overcome the fondness and enthusiasm with which he had at first adopted the rifle.

"We seldom went hunting together," writes one of his early associates on this subject. "Abe was not a noted hunter, as the time spent by other boys in such amusements, was improved by him in the perusal of some good book."

Discouraged by the sickness and the severe winter which had befallen them during the first year, the family remained here no longer than the spring of 1831—moving into Coles county, some sixty or seventy miles to the eastward, on the upper waters of the Kaskaskia and Embarras. There the father rested, at length, from his wanderings, and there he died, at a ripe old age, on the 17th of January, 1851, in his seventy-third year. Abraham, however, did not accompany his father and family in this, their last removal; but, being now of age, assumed for the first time, his independence, and commenced life on his own account. During the preceding winter, young Lincoln, together with his step-mother's son, John D. Johnston, and his former fellow-laborer, John Hanks (yet residing in

Macon county), had engaged themselves to one Dennis Offult, to aid him in a flat-boat trip from Beardstown, Illinois, to New Orleans,—agreeing to meet with him at Springfield as soon as the snow should disappear. But when the snow melted (in the early part of March, 1831), the country was so flooded as to make travelling by land impracticable, so they purchased a large canoe, in which they came down the Sangamon river. On reaching the place of rendezvous, they found that Offult had been disappointed by a person, on whom he had relied to furnish him a boat on the Illinois river. Accordingly, the three adventurers hired themselves to their employer, at the rate of twelve dollars per month each; and then all hands set to work, getting out timber and building a boat, at old Sangamon town, on the Sangamon river, seven miles northwest of Springfield. In this boat they made a successful voyage to New Orleans and back, substantially on the terms of the original contract.

It has been said, by his friends, that Mr. Lincoln frequently referred with much pleasant humor, to this early experience, relating some of its incidents in such a manner as to afford abundant amusement to his auditors. In truth, he was a youth who could adapt himself to this or any other honest work, which his circumstances required of him, with a cheerfulness and alacrity—a certain practical humor—rarely equaled. To him the hardest labor was mere pastime; and his manly presence, to other laborers, was a constant inspiration and a charm which lightened their burdens.

It was midsummer when the young flat-boatman returned from this trip, his second and last in that

capacity. Offult, the manager of the expedition, undertook to establish himself in business at New Salem, twenty miles below Springfield, in Menard county—where he opened a store, and, also, a flouring mill. Having taken a liking to young Lincoln during their flat-boat enterprise, he was naturally anxious to secure his services in the new business, in which he was about to embark. Having no other immediate employment in view, and being entirely dependent upon his own exertions for a living, Abraham accepted the offer, and entered upon the duties of a clerk—attending to both branches of his employer's business—which it is almost needless to say, were faithfully and cheerfully performed. While acting in this capacity, he made many acquaintances and friends, and won the respect and confidence of all with whom he had business dealings—and it was during this period of his life that he came to be familiarly known as "Honest Abe."

"An honest man's the noblest work of God," is the oft-quoted remark of the poet, and truly this appellation, which has so closely adhered to Abraham Lincoln from that day to the latest hour of his life, is a richer tribute of praise, a more enduring coronet of glory to his many virtues, than is often vouchsafed to those of more kingly lineage, or more exalted station.

Offult's business, however, did not prove very successful, and Lincoln's clerkship, in a little less than a year, was abruptly terminated (in 1832) by the outbreak of the "Black Hawk war."

During the previous spring (1831) the noted Black Hawk, of the Sac tribe of Indians, repudiating the treaty of 1804, by which they had been removed beyond

the Mississippi, made an attempt to repossess his old hunting-grounds, and to establish himself where the principal village of his nation before had been, in the Rock-river country. The Indians began to commit depredations upon the property of the white settlers, destroying their crops, pulling down their fences, driving off and slaughtering their cattle, and ordering the settlers themselves to leave, on penalty of massacre if they remained.

In response to the representations of Governor Reynolds, to whom the settlers applied for protection, General Gaines, commanding the United States forces in that quarter, took prompt and decisive measures to expel the invaders from the State. With a few companies of regular soldiers, he at once took up his position at Rock Island, and at his call, several hundred volunteers assembled from the northern and central parts of the State, upon the proclamation of Governor Reynolds, joined him a month later. This little army, distributed into two regiments, an additional battalion, and a spy battalion, was the most formidable military force yet seen in the new State. The expected battle did not take place, the Indians having suddenly and stealthily retired again, across the river. And shortly after, apparently intimidated by the threats and firm attitude of General Gaines, the wily Black Hawk sued for peace, and a treaty was entered into, by which he agreed that he and his tribe should ever after remain on the west side of the river, unless by permission of the general Government, or of the Governor of the State of Illinois. In express violation, however, of this second deliberate engagement, Black Hawk and his followers began, early

in the spring of 1832, as we have seen, to make preparations for another invasion. Whatever may be said of the wrongs inflicted on the savage tribes, by the white race, it is certain that the bad faith shown in this case, and the repeated violation of deliberate and voluntary agreements, was wholly without justification or excuse. No provocation or plausible pretext had arisen after the treaty of the previous June; yet Black Hawk was under the misguided influence and false representations of the "Prophet," who persuaded him to believe that even the British (to whom Black Hawk had always been a fast friend), as well as the Ottawas, Chippewas, Winnebagoes, and Pottawatomies, would aid them in regaining their village and the adjoining lands. Under this delusion, to which the wiser Keokuk refused to become a dupe, though earnestly invited to join them, Black Hawk proceeded to gather as strong a force as possible. First establishing his headquarters at the old site of Fort Madison, west of the Mississippi, he proceeded, with his women and children, property and camp equipage, and a strong force of armed warriors, to the mouth of Rock river; where, in the early part of April, 1832, the whole party crossed to the east side of the Mississippi, with the avowed purpose of ascending the Rock river to the Winnebago territory. An order from General Atkinson, of Rock Island, which overtook him on his route, ordering him to return beyond the Mississippi, was defiantly disregarded.

The danger now seemed imminent; volunteer companies were immediately formed in those States most exposed to the foe, and among others, a company was raised in Menard county, in the formation of

which, Abraham Lincoln was conspicuously active. From New Salem, Clary's Grove, and the vicinity, an efficient force was gathered, and when organized, their choice fell on Lincoln for captain. This, the first promotion which he had ever received by the suffrages of his fellows, could not have been otherwise than flattering to his unaspiring and modest nature, and may be regarded as a pleasing evidence of the estimation in which he was held by his friends and neighbors. He was wont to say that no success in life ever gave him such unalloyed satisfaction as this.

An anecdote is current of our subject, pertaining to this era of his life, which is not unworthy of repetition.

"Soon after the election of the company officers, a friend of Captain Lincoln's had vaunted the newly-elected commander as the strongest man in Illinois, when a stranger, who was listening, expressed a doubt as to the truth of the assertion, at the same time mentioning another individual whom he considered as the stouter man. The friend of the newly-elected captain at length proposed a small wager, which was accepted, that his champion could lift a barrel of whiskey, holding forty gallons, and drink out of the bung-hole.

"The interested parties proceeded to Captain Abe, who was nothing averse to making the experiment for the gratification of his friend. A barrel of whiskey containing the necessary amount of gallons was accordingly procured, when the test was performed with readiness and apparent ease. As another man might have raised a six-gallon demijohn, the barrel was lifted, and the requisite mouthful extracted from the bung-hole, to the astonishment of the incredulous stranger.

"'The bet is mine,' cried the athlete's admirer, as the former replaced the barrel on the floor; 'but that is the first dram of whiskey I ever saw you swallow, Abe.'

"The captain immediately spirted the cheek full of whiskey upon the floor, with the exclamation:

"'And I haven't swallowed *that*, you see.'

"His friend burst out laughing at this demonstration of the incorrigible teetotaler. And this same friend, long afterward, writes:

"'That was the only drink of intoxicating liquor I ever knew him to take, and that he spirted out on the floor.'

"Whether true or not, this little anecdote, so far as it concerns the whiskey, is in keeping with the temperate habits which have since distinguished him."

His company rendezvoused at Beardstown. Here eighteen hundred men were speedily assembled and organized into four regiments, with an additional spy battalion. General Samuel Whiteside was in command. General James D. Henry was placed at the head of the spy battalion. Leaving Beardstown on the 27th of April, they marched to the mouth of Rock river, and after marching fifty miles along its course, reached the Prophet's village, which they left in flames, and then pushed rapidly forward to Dixon's Ferry, forty miles beyond, where the enemy was supposed to be. On the way, they received additional reinforcements, and on the 12th of May their advance met the foe. The skirmish which ensued, rapidly developed into an engagement which occupied some five hundred men on each side, and which resulted in the complete rout of the whites, known to this day, as "Stillman's defeat." A projected renewal of the conflict on the following morning, was frustrated by the sudden disappearance of the wily savages.

A council of war resulted in a decision to renew the

conflict early next morning. The great battle which Captain Lincoln and his fellow-volunteers had come so far to participate in, seemed now on the point of becoming a reality. And notwithstanding their premature advance from Prophetstown had left them without the necessary supplies, and subjected them to many privations, they made up for the absence of their regular provisions as best they might, and were ready, with the dawn, for the day's undertaking. But their enemy did not await their coming. Arrived at the scene of yesterday's skirmish and flight, they found not a straggler of all the savage forces. They had gone further up the river, and partly dispersed, to commit depredations in the surrounding country.

General Whiteside having made this energetic attempt to fall in with the enemy and give him battle, and having buried his dead, returned to camp, where he was shortly joined by General Atkinson, with troops and supplies, increasing the number of the army to two thousand five hundred, and a few weeks more would have enabled this force to bring the war to a successful termination.

This desirable consummation of their labors, however, was frustrated by the impatience of the volunteer force, whose term of service had expired, to return to their homes. The hardships of the campaign, in their opinion, far exceeded the glory which they had hoped to win, and their disappointment made them clamorous for their discharge. They were, therefore, marched to Ottawa, and mustered out of the service on the 27th and 28th of May. This sudden disbanding, without a battle, and with no results accomplished, was somewhat chafing

to the young captain from Menard county. While others murmured and dropped out of what seemed to be an unprofitable warfare, he remained true and persistent to his convictions of duty; as eager for the fray, and as ambitious to perform every item of a soldier's labor as he was at the outset. His imagination had not, as in the case of others, drawn too bright a picture of camp life, and he was, consequently, not as much disappointed as they, while his characteristic hearty earnestness in his work imparted cheerfulness to others, and challenged their respect.

We are not surprised to learn, therefore, that when Governor Reynolds—who had already issued a call for two thousand new volunteers—asked for the formation of a volunteer regiment from those just discharged, Captain Abraham Lincoln was among the first to enroll himself as a private, as did also General Whiteside. Indeed, in calling for this regiment, Governor Reynolds is understood to have acted upon the expressed suggestions of Lincoln and others, who were still ready to bear their part of the campaign to its close. So nobly true was Lincoln, even in his youth, to a stern sense of duty, and so earnest in his wish to accomplish whatever he undertook.

Before the arrival of the new levies, a skirmishing fight with the Indians was had at Burr Oak Grove, on the 18th of June, in which the enemy was defeated with considerable loss. Meanwhile the Indian atrocities continued, rendering an efficient prosecution of the war, to its termination, indispensable.

The Winnebagoes and Pottawatomies also evinced a hostile disposition toward the whites, and an inclination

to join the movement of Black Hawk. Accordingly, with the appearance of the new levies, which had been divided into three regiments, and their junction with the regular and volunteer forces already in the field, the whole number of volunteers alone being thirty-two hundred, the army was placed in a formidable and effective attitude for offensive warfare, and finally made a forward movement. A severe action at Kellogg's Grove, in the Indian country, on the 25th of June, resulted in the retreat of the enemy, with much loss. Black Hawk then withdrew his forces to a fortified position, at the Four Lakes, the present site of Madison, Wisconsin. where he awaited the issue of a general engagement. On the part of the American commanders, the campaign was carried forward with all the celerity possible; but they were in a strange country, in which, for lack of correct information, they were obliged to advance slowly and cautiously. Meanwhile, the new volunteers had many of them become discontented. Nearly two months had now elapsed since the opening of the campaign, and its purpose seemed as remote from accomplishment as ever. Their numbers had become reduced, in fact. one-half. Wearisome marches, and still more wearisome delays, privations and exposure, had deprived the service of whatever romance it may have originally possessed. They were fretfully sickened of duty, home-sick, and eager to escape from the restraints of military life. This state of feeling, of course, hampered the action of those in command, and had its effect in determining the result of the campaign. Lincoln was not of this class. As on his previous campaign, he accepted whatever befell him in the line of his duty, without com-

plaint or murmuring. It was not destined, however, that he should be actively engaged in any encounter more serious than those already mentioned. The forces were divided and dispersed in different directions for the purpose of obtaining supplies, and while thus divided, that portion of the army with which Lincoln was *not* connected, coming upon Black Hawk and his warriors near the present city of Madison, signally defeated and routed him, driving him down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, where, four days later, the battle of Bad-ax closed the war, with the capture of the chief and his warriors. The fates were against our hero, for his division took no part in either of these battles, and before the last term of enlistment had expired the contest was at an end.

We cannot better close our brief sketch of Mr. Lincoln's military career, than by presenting his own humorous and characteristic reference to it in a Congressional speech delivered during the canvass of 1848. Sarcastically commenting on the efforts of General Cass's biographers to render him conspicuous as a military hero, he said:

"By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir, in the days of the Black Hawk war, I fought, bled, and came away! Speaking of General Cass's career reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass to Hull's surrender; and like him, I saw the place very soon afterward. It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is, he broke it in desperation. I bent the mus-

ket by accident. If General Cass went in advance of me in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live, fighting Indians, it was more than I did—but I had a good many bloody struggles with the musquitoes; and although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry.

"Mr. Speaker, if I should ever conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends may suppose there is of black-cockade Federalism about me, and, thereupon, they should take me up as their candidate for the Presidency, I protest they shall not make fun of me as they have of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero."

But, although thus humorously deprecating his own services, it will not be disputed that Mr. Lincoln, at the age of twenty-three, faithfully acted his part as a soldier, with an energy and perseverance, in the face of peculiar hardship, which rebuked the lukewarmness and discontent of many older men with whom he was associated. Though he never set up any claim for a heroism which opportunity was never afforded him to exhibit, he believed that he did his duty, and such also was the opinion of others. In his brief career of three months' service he acquired the reputation of a favorite in the army—an efficient officer—and a brave, patient, and reliable soldier.

These early military experiences undoubtedly had no small influence in developing that paternal interest in the personal welfare of the private soldier and sailor, and that intense care for their comfort and individual rights, which so eminently characterized him in later

years, when, as President of a great republic, he was commander-in-chief of its army and navy.

The feeling which enabled him to sympathize so freely and kindly with the little trials of these humble servants of the country—which made him always as easy of access to the simple private as to the Major-General—which led him so frequently, amid his all-engrossing cares, to visit the hospitals where these brave fellows lay wounded and weary with patient waiting; which, in short, seemed to make "his brave boys in blue" as near and dear to his great heart as if, almost they were his own sons—this feeling, the outgushing of his exceeding kindness of disposition, was, no doubt, intensified by the remembrance of what he himself had experienced while a frontier volunteer in the old "Black Hawk War."

CHAPTER IV.

MR. LINCOLN AS A POLITICIAN.

He becomes a candidate for the Legislature, but is defeated.—Becomes a storekeeper, and postmaster.—Commences the study of law.—Studies and practices surveying.—Is elected to the Legislature.—Re-elected for a second term.—Defines his position on the subject of domestic slavery.—Is elected for a third and fourth time, to the Legislature.—Is admitted to the practice of law.—His characteristics as a lawyer.—Thrilling incident of his law practice.—His associates of the Springfield Bar.—Enters warmly into the Presidential canvass of 1840.—Accepts, in 1842, the Whig nomination for Congress.—Establishes his home at Springfield.—His marriage.

Mr. Lincoln had now reached a point in his history, when he was about to enter upon a new and different walk of life, from any which he had ever before tried: and one in which, as a professional man and a statesman, he was destined to attain a success and an eminence, which has since rendered his name world-renowned in the history of his country, and in the interests of humanity. The whole varied experience of his previous life had been a course of unconscious training for the conspicuous part which, in the providence of God, he was to assume in public affairs. His rough experiences had taught him much of the world, of men and their motives, and he had, also, gained some true knowledge of himself. The stern discipline of those youthful years of toil and penury, so cheerfully and manfully met, was about to prove "its own exceed-

ing great reward" to him. And, though his fortune was yet to be "wooed and won," with severe and persistent labor, yet, from this time forward, his future gradually assumed a more genial phase. He had come home from the war with no definite business to resort to, and still under the necessity of immediately devoting his energies to self-support. His military campaign had infused a greater degree of self-confidence within him, than he had previously possessed, and, chosen as captain above a hundred of his fellows, it would be strange, indeed, if the youth did not have some aspirations for distinction in life. He had, in his peculiar way, strongly attached his associates to him, and had won, to a remarkable degree, for so young a man, the entire confidence and respect of the community amongst whom he lived.

"Proof of this is afforded by the fact that he became, on returning home, a candidate for representative in the State Legislature, the election of which was close at hand. A youth of twenty-three, and not generally known throughout the country, or able, in the brief time allowed, to make himself so, it may have an appearance of presumption for him to have allowed the use of his name as a candidate. He was not elected, certainly, and could hardly have thought such an event possible; yet the noticeable fact remains that he received so wonderful a vote in his own precinct, where he was best if not almost exclusively known, as may almost be said to have made his fortune. His precinct (he had now settled in Sangamon county) was strongly for Jackson, while Lincoln had, from the start, warmly espoused the cause of Henry Clay. The State election

occurred in August, and the Presidential election two or three months later, the same season. Political feeling ran high, at this the second election (as it proved) of Jackson. Notwithstanding this, such was the popularity which young Lincoln had brought home with him from the war, that out of the two hundred and eighty-four votes cast in his precinct, two hundred and seventy-seven—the entire vote wanting seven—were cast for him; there being, in all, *eight* aspirants for the legislative distinction. Yet, a little later in the same canvass, General Jackson received a majority of one hundred and fifty-five for the Presidency, from the very same men, over Mr. Clay, whose cause Lincoln was known to favor. So marked an indication as this of his personal power to draw votes, made him a political celebrity at once, and in future elections it became a point with aspirants to seek to combine his strength in their favor, by placing Lincoln's name on their ticket, to secure his battalion of voters. When two years later, he was elected to the Legislature for the first time, his majority ranged about two hundred votes higher than the rest of the ticket on which he ran."

This, his first political contest, was the only one in which he was ever defeated in a direct issue before the people; and, although a defeat, may well be regarded as a remarkable and auspicious beginning of his public career. At this period of his life, as ever after, he seems to have been influenced by no spirit of demagogism or desire of personal advancement, for the Whig party, at this time, constituted a very small, indeed, an almost hopeless, minority in the public councils of the State of Illinois, which twice had given overwhelm-

ing majorities for the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency.

Here, then, in the Democratic party, was an opportunity for a young man of talent and popularity to make rapid advance in political honors. Abraham Lincoln, however, was not the one to be, for a single moment, influenced by such motives. Warmly he espoused, and sturdily labored for the then weaker cause, because he believed it to be the people's cause.

Henry Clay was his model, as statesman and politician, and always continued such while any issues were left to contend for of the celebrated system of the great Kentuckian.

Mr. Lincoln was now desirous of studying law, but his limited education and lack of pecuniary means prevented him from immediately carrying out his wishes. Presently a man offered to sell, and did sell, to him and a partner as poor as himself, an old stock of goods upon credit—and with these they opened a store, which he used to say was THE store—but it was unsuccessful, and after a while "*winked out.*" During this period, also, he held the appointment of postmaster at New Salem, an office which hardly compensated him for the trouble it gave him.

Nothing daunted by this turn of ill-luck, he directed his attention to law, and borrowing a few books from a neighbor, which he took from the office in the evening and returned in the morning, he learned the rudiments of the profession in which he has since become so distinguished. He also pursued other branches of study with equal diligence, and made himself somewhat proficient in grammar; while his better opportunities gave

him the means of far more extensive reading than he had hitherto enjoyed. It was his custom to write out an epitome of every book he read—a process which served to impress the contents more indelibly on his memory, as well as to give him skill in composition.*

He improved every opportunity to cultivate his intellect, often studying his law-books far into the night by the reflection of the log-fire in his farm-home on the prairies. He was early distinguished for a disputational turn of mind, and many are the intellectual triumphs of his in the country or village lyceum, related by old settlers who remember him as he then appeared. His strong, natural, direct, and irresistible logic, marked him then, as it has ever since, as an intellectual king.

While thus pursuing his law studies he made the acquaintance of John Calhoun, since President of the Lecompton (Kansas) Constitutional Convention, who proposed to him to learn the art of surveying. Lincoln followed the suggestion, procured a compass and chain, studied Flint and Gibson a little—frequently went with Mr. Calhoun to the field—and, in a short time, set up for a surveyor on his own account. This, fortunately for him, was at a time when the mania for speculation in western lands was beginning to spread over the country, and towns and cities without number were laid out in all directions: innumerable fortunes being made—in anticipation—by the purchase of lots in all sorts of imaginary cities, during the four or five years preceding the memorable crisis and crash of 1837. It was during

* In this connection, the reader is referred to Mr. Lincoln's own statement of his early education, previously given in Chapter II., page 52.

the year previous to that consummation, that this business had reached its height in Illinois, and for a while afforded him much profitable employment. But, when the bubble burst, the young surveyor found "his occupation gone," and his instruments were shortly after sacrificed at auction. Thenceforth he confined himself exclusively to the profession of the law.

In 1834, his political life commenced in earnest, by his election to the State Legislature, of which he was, with one exception, the youngest member.

"He had not yet acquired position as a lawyer, or even been admitted to the bar—and had his reputation to make, no less as a politician and orator. At this time he was very plain in his costume, as well as rather uncourtly in his address and general appearance. His clothing was of homely Kentucky jean, and the first impression made by his tall lank figure upon those who saw him, was not specially prepossessing. He had not outgrown his hard backwoods experience, and showed no inclination to disguise or to cast behind him, the honest and manly, though unpolished characteristics of his earlier days. Never was a man further removed from all snobbish affectation. As little was there, also, of the demagogue art of assuming an uncouthness or rusticity of manner and outward habit, with the mistaken notion of thus securing particular favor as "one of the masses." He chose to appear then, as he has at all times since, precisely what he was. His deportment was unassuming, though without any awkwardness of reserve.

"During this, his first session in the Legislature, he was taking lessons, as became his youth and inexperience,

and preparing himself for the future by close observation and attention to business, rather than by a prominent participation in debate. He seldom or never took the floor to speak, although before the close of this and the succeeding special session of the same Legislature, he had shown, as previously in every other capacity in which he was engaged, qualities that clearly pointed to him as fitted to act a leading part."

In the organization of the Legislature, Lincoln was assigned the second place on the Committee on Public Accounts and Expenditures, an honor especially flattering, as the power was entirely in the hands of the Democrats. It was during this session that Lincoln first became acquainted with Stephen A. Douglas, who had then recently come from his native State, Vermont, and commencing as a school-teacher, had devoted his time to the study of law and local politics, until, in less than a year from his entrance into Illinois, he had, by an adroit movement, secured the position of State's attorney for the first judicial district. Young Douglas, at this time, was as thin in flesh as he was short in stature, and, as Mr. Lincoln once remarked, "was physically the least man he ever saw." Little did the two men then realize what a position they were, ere long, to assume toward one another and toward their country. Douglas, like Lincoln, was the sole architect of his own fortunes; the good State of Illinois cradled them both in their humble estate, and gave them, as her own, to a career of political glory now become historical.

In 1836, Mr. Lincoln was elected for a second term as one of the seven representatives from Sangamon

county, and was again assigned a place upon the Committee of Finances. At the two sessions of this Legislature, in 1836 and '37, he came forward more prominently in debate, gradually became recognized as the leading man on the Whig side, and, as he had been from the outset of his political career, the staunch and able advocate of a healthy, but judiciously-guarded policy of internal improvements. He held it to be the duty of government to extend its fostering aid, in every constitutional way, and to a reasonable extent, to whatever enterprise of public utility required such assistance, in order to the fullest development of the natural resources, and to the most rapid healthful growth of the State.

During this part of his career as a politician, it is interesting to notice the care which he took, even when a young man, to avoid identifying himself with the theoretical Abolitionists of the day, and to place himself on the record as a firm lover of *liberty for all men* when time and circumstances should favor emancipation.

During the spring of 1837, resolutions of a pro-slavery character had been adopted by a Democratic majority of the Illinois Legislature, and the attempt, of course, was made to affix the stigma of Abolitionists to all those who refused assent to these extreme views. At that time, the public sentiment of the north was not aroused on the subject, as it became a few years later, in consequence of pro-slavery aggressions. Yet Mr. Lincoln refused to vote for these resolutions, and in order to extricate himself from the false position in which the opposition sought to place him, he and Daniel

Stone, his colleague from Sangamon county, availed themselves of their constitutional privilege to give their views on the subject in a clear and manly protest.

MARCH 3d, 1837.—The following protest was presented to the House, which was read and ordered to be spread on the journals, to wit:

"Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly, at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

"They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy; but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; but that the power ought not to be exercised, unless at the request of the people of said District.

"The difference between these opinions and those contained in the said resolutions, is their reason for entering this protest.

"(Signed) "DAN STONE,

"A. LINCOLN,

"*Representatives from the County of Sangamon.*"

In 1838, Mr. Lincoln was for the third time elected a Representative in the Legislature, for the two years ensuing; and so well recognized was his position in his party, that by general consent he received the Whig vote for the speakership—which he failed to get only after a very close contest, his opponent having a ma-

jority of *one* over all others, two Whigs (including Mr. Lincoln) and two Democrats having scattered their votes. Aside from financial questions, there were but few matters of any general interest before the Legislature. This session of 1838–9 was the last held at Vandalia. A special session in 1839 inaugurated the new state-house at Springfield. The great contest of 1840 was already casting its shadow before, and began chiefly to engross the attention of persons in political life. Whig candidates for electors were nominated in November of this year, and discussions commenced in earnest. Mr. Lincoln, who was deemed one of the strongest champions of the cause before the people, was repeatedly called on to encounter the foremost advocates of the Democratic party—as no man in Illinois, it was now manifest, could do more successfully.

Again, for the fourth time in succession, Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Legislature in 1840—the last election to that position which he would consent to accept from his strongly-attached constituents of Sangamon county.

There was but one session during the two years for which this Legislature was chosen. "Mr. Lincoln, as in the last, was the acknowledged Whig leader, and the candidate of his party for speaker. First elected at twenty-five, he had continued in office without interruption so long as his inclination allowed, and until, by his uniform courtesy and kindness of manners, his marked ability, and his straight-forward integrity, he had won an enviable repute throughout the State, and was virtually, when but a little past thirty, placed at the head of his party in Illinois.

"Begun in comparative obscurity, and without any

adventitious aids in its progress, this period of his life, at its termination, had brought him to a position where he was secure in the confidence of the people, and prepared, in due time, to enter upon a more enlarged and brilliant career as a national statesman. His fame as a close and convincing debater was established. His native talent as an orator had at once been demonstrated and disciplined. His zeal and earnestness in behalf of a party whose principles he believed to be right, had rallied strong troops of political friends about him, while his unfeigned modesty and his unpretending and simple bearing, in marked contrast with that of so many imperious leaders, had won him general and lasting esteem. He preferred no claim as a partizan, and showed no overweening anxiety to advance himself, but was always a disinterested and generous co-worker with his associates, only ready to accept the post of honor and of responsibility, when it was clearly their will and satisfactory to the people whose interests were involved. At the close of this period, with scarcely any consciousness of the fact himself, and with no noisy demonstrations or flashy ostentation in his behalf from his friends, he was really one of the foremost political men in the State. A keen observer might even then have predicted a great future for the 'Sangamon chief,' as people have been wont to call him; and only such an observer, perhaps, would then have adequately estimated his real power as a natural orator, a sagacious statesman, and a gallant TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE."

During the period of his service in the Legislature, Mr. Lincoln was steadily engaged in mastering the profession of law. It was true, that he was compelled

to prosecute his studies, somewhat at disadvantage, both from the necessity of supporting himself meanwhile by his own labor, and the time and attention which his position obliged him to give to politics. But nothing could prevent the consummation of his purpose, and having completed the preliminary studies, he was admitted to practice in 1836. He was what is called in the west "a rising man"—and he commenced practice with a reputation which speedily brought him plenty of business, and placed him in the front rank of his profession. He displayed remarkable ability as an advocate in jury trials, and a ready perception and sound judgment of the turning legal points of a case. Many of his law arguments were master pieces of logical reasoning. His forensic efforts all bore the stamp of masculine common sense; and he had a natural, easy mode of illustration, that made the most abstruse subjects appear plain. Indeed clear, practical sense, and skill in homely or humorous illustration, were the especially noticeable traits in his arguments. The graces of a polished rhetoric he certainly had not, nor did he aim to acquire them. His style of expression and the cast of his thought were his own, having all the native force of a genuine originality.

The following incident of his law practice, of which the narration is believed to be substantially accurate, is from the pen of one who professes to write from personal knowlege. It is given in this connection, as at once illustrating the earlier struggles of Mr. Lincoln in acquiring his profession, the character of his forensic efforts, and the generous gratitude and disinterestedness of his nature:

"Having chosen the law as his future calling, he devoted himself assiduously to its mastery, contending at every step with adverse fortune. During this period of study, he for some time found a home under the hospitable roof of one Armstrong, a farmer, who lived in a log house some eight miles from the village of Petersburg, in Menard county. Here, young Lincoln would master his lessons by the firelight of the cabin, and then walk to town for the purpose of recitation. This man Armstrong was himself poor, but he saw the genius struggling in the young student, and opened to him his rude home, and bid him welcome to his coarse fare. How Lincoln graduated with promise—how he has more than fulfilled that promise—how honorably he acquitted himself, alike on the battle-field, in defending our border settlements against the ravages of savage foes, and in the halls of our national Legislature, are matters of history, and need no repetition here. But one little incident, of a more private nature, standing as it does as a sort of sequel to some things already alluded to, I deem worthy of record.

"Some few years since, the oldest son of Mr. Lincoln's old friend Armstrong, the chief support of his widowed mother—the good old man having some time previously passed from earth—was arrested on the charge of murder. A young man had been killed during a riotous *mêlée*, in the night-time, at a camp-meeting, and one of his associates stated that the death-wound was inflicted by young Armstrong. A preliminary examination was gone into, at which the accuser testified so positively, that there seemed no doubt of the guilt of the prisoner, and therefore he was held for trial. As is too often the case, the bloody act caused an undue degree of excitement in the public mind. Every improper incident in the life of the prisoner—each act which bore the least semblance of rowdyism—each schoolboy quarrel—was suddenly remembered and magnified, until they pictured a most horrible hue. As these rumors spread abroad they were received as gospel truth, and

a feverish desire for vengeance seized upon the infatuated populace, whilst only prison bars prevented a horrible death at the hands of a mob. The events were heralded in the county papers, painted in highest colors, accompanied by rejoicing over the certainty of punishment being meted out to the guilty party. The prisoner, overwhelmed by the circumstances under which he found himself placed, fell into a melancholy condition bordering on despair, and the widowed mother, looking through her tears, saw no cause for hope from earthly aid.

"At this juncture, the widow received a letter from Mr. Lincoln, volunteering his services in an effort to save the youth from the impending stroke. Gladly was his aid accepted, although it seemed impossible for even his sagacity to prevail in such a desperate case; but the heart of the attorney was in his work, and he set about it with a will that knew no such word as fail. Feeling that the poisoned condition of the public mind was such as to preclude the possibility of impanelling an impartial jury in the court having jurisdiction, he procured a change of venue and a postponement of the trial. He then went studiously to work unravelling the history of the case, and satisfied himself that his client was the victim of malice, and that the statements of the accuser were a tissue of falsehoods.

"When the trial was called on, the prisoner, pale and emaciated, with hopelessness written on every feature, and accompanied by his half-hoping, half-despairing mother—whose only hope was in a mother's belief of her son's innocence, in the justice of the God she worshipped, and in the noble counsel, who, without hope of fee or reward upon earth, had undertaken the cause—took his seat in the prisoners' box, and with a 'stony firmness' listened to the reading of the indictment. Lincoln sat quietly by, whilst the large auditory looked on him as though wondering what he could say in defence of one whose guilt they regarded as certain. The ex-

amination of the witnesses for the State was begun, and a well-arranged mass of evidence, circumstantial and positive, was introduced, which seemed to impale the prisoner beyond the possibity of extrication. The counsel for the defence propounded but few questious, and those of a character which excited no uneasiness on the part of the prosecutor—merely, in most cases, requiring the main witnesses to be definite as to the time and place. When the evidence of the prosecution was ended, Lincoln introduced a few witnesses to remove some erroneous impressions in regard to the previous character of his client, who, though somewhat rowdyish, had never been known to commit a vicious act; and to show that a greater degree of ill-feeling existed between the accuser and the accused, than the accuser and the deceased.

"The prosecutor felt that the case was a clear one, and his opening speech was brief and formal. Lincoln arose, while a deathly silence pervaded the vast audience, and in a clear and moderate tone began his argument. Slowly and carefully he reviewed the testimony, pointing out the hitherto unobserved discrepancies in the statements of the principal witness. That which had seemed plain and plausible he made to appear crooked as a serpent's path. The witness had stated that the affair took place at a certain hour in the evening, and that, by the aid of the brightly shining moon, he saw the prisoner inflict the death-blow with a slung-shot. Mr. Lincoln showed that at the hour referred to the moon had not yet appeared above the horizon, and consequently the whole tale was a fabrication.

"An almost instantaneous change seemed to have been wrought in the minds of his auditors, and the verdict of 'not guilty' was at the end of every tongue. But the advocate was not content with this intellectual achievement. His whole being had for months been bound up in this work of gratitude and mercy, and as the lava of the overcharged crater bursts from its imprisonment, so great thoughts and burning words leaped forth from the soul of the eloquent Lincoln. He drew

a picture of the perjurer so horrid and ghastly, that the accuser could sit under it no longer, but reeled and staggered from the court-room, whilst the audience fancied they could see the brand upon his brow. Then in words of thrilling pathos Lincoln appealed to the jurors as fathers of some who might become fatherless, and as husbands of wives who might be widowed, to yield to no previous impressions, no ill-founded prejudice, but to do his client justice; and as he alluded to the debt of gratitude which he owed the boy's sire, tears were seen to fall from many eyes unused to weep.

"It was near night when he concluded, by saying that if justice was done—as he believed it would be—before the sun should set, it would shine upon his client a free man. The jury retired, and the court adjourned for the day. Half an hour had not elapsed, when, as the officers of the court and the volunteer attorney sat at the tea-table of their hotel, a messenger announced that the jury had returned to their seats. All repaired immediately to the court-house, and whilst the prisoner was being brought from the jail, the court-room was filled to overflowing with citizens from the town. When the prisoner and his mother entered, silence reigned as completely as though the house were empty. The foreman of the jury, in answer to the usual inquiry from the court, delivered the verdict of 'Not Guilty!' The widow dropped into the arms of her son, who lifted her up and told her to look upon him as before, free and innocent. Then, with the words, 'Where is Mr. Lincoln?' he rushed across the room and grasped the hand of his deliverer, whilst his heart was too full for utterance. Lincoln turned his eyes towards the west, where the sun still lingered in view, and then, turning to the youth, said, 'It is not yet sundown and you are free.' I confess that my cheeks were not wholly unwet by tears, and I turned from the affecting scene. As I cast a glance behind, I saw Abraham Lincoln obeying the Divine injunction by comforting the widowed and fatherless."

Several of his associates in practice at the Springfield bar, were remarkable men. Says a writer, familiar with the persons and incidents of that gathering of great and peculiar men who made the Illinois capital the arena of their combats:

"It would be hard to find in any backwoods town, at the period of which I have been speaking, a *coterie* of equal ability and equal possibilities with those who plead, and wrangled, and electioneered together in Springfield. Logan, one of the finest examples of the purely legal mind that the west has ever produced; M'Dougal, who afterward sought El Dorado; Bissell, and Shields, and Baker, brothers in arms and in council, the flower of the western chivalry, and the brightest examples of western oratory; Trumbull then, as now, with a mind pre-eminently cool, crystalline, sagacious; Douglas, heart of oak and brain of fire, of energy and undaunted courage unparalleled, ambition insatiate and aspiration unsleeping; Lincoln then, as afterward, thoughtful, and honest, and brave, conscious of great capabilities, and quietly sure of the future, before all his peers in a broad humanity, and in that prophetic life of spirit that saw the triumph of principles then dimly discovered in the contest that was to come."

Truly a singular gathering of great souls—each one of whom was destined to occupy prominent positions in their country's history.

His interest in the exciting and important political events of the day—his steadily-increasing conception of their importance not only to his own community, but to the country—ere long drew him into the vortex of politics. During the Presidential canvass of 1844, he "stumped" the State of Illinois, as well as a large portion of Indiana, for Henry Clay, with unwearying enthusiasm.

In this election, the tariff question being the main subject at issue—Mr. Lincoln's name headed the Whig electoral ticket, as opposed to John Calhoun's on the Democratic side, the latter being then regarded as the ablest debater of his party in the State. They "stumped" the State together, usually making speeches, on alternate days at each place, to large audiences. In these political "sparring matches," Mr. Lincoln manifested a surprising acquaintance with the principles, workings, and results of the protective system.

The canvass proved how thoroughly he had studied the question in all its bearings—how exhaustively he had read history and political economy. He demonstrated not only his own native strength as a debater, but his accomplishments as a well-read student and statesman. "He spoke with that directness and precision which ever are most forcible in popular address. His manner was familiar, as if talking to a large circle of friends—a feature of his oratory which became one of his public characteristics. This very familiarity of his discourse, the homeliness of his illustrations, the quiet good humor of his temper, and the seemingly inexhaustible fund of anecdote and story ever ready at his command—all served to divest his speeches of the acknowledged constituents of the oration, and to invest them with something of the characteristics of the harangue; yet his simple words were weighty with an eloquence which swayed not only the hearts, but the judgments of his hearers, and few men ever left an audience under greater weight of obligation for truths spoken and principles enunciated. He came out of that

first canvass the conceded champion* of the Whig party and policy in the State."

The disastrous result of that canvass, to the success of Mr. Clay, was felt by Lincoln even more keenly than if it had been a mere personal reverse.

Twc years later, in 1846, Mr. Lincoln was induced to accept the Whig nomination for Congress in the Sangamon district. The annexation of Texas had, in the meantime, been consummated, and the Mexican war was in progress. The Whig tariff of 1842 had just been repealed.

The Springfield district had given Mr. Clay a majority of nine hundred and fourteen in 1844, on the most thorough canvass. It gave Mr. Lincoln a majority of one thousand five hundred and eleven, which was entirely unprecedented, and has been unequaled by that given there for any opposition candidate, for any office since. The nearest approach was in 1848, when General Taylor, on a much fuller vote than that of 1846, and receiving the votes of numerous returned Mexican volunteers, of Democratic faith, and who had served under him in Mexico, obtained a majority of one thousand five hundred and one. In the same year (1848) Mr. Logan, the popular Whig candidate, was beaten by Col. Thomas L. Harris, Democrat, by one hundred and six majority. There was no good reason

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* During this campaign, at a Convention held at *Vandalia*, the old capital of the State of Illinois, an old man carried a banner with this device:

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT IN 1860."

This is a well attested *fact*, but what was the prophet's name we have not been able to learn.

to doubt, in advance, that Mr. Lincoln would have been elected by a handsome majority, had he consented to run for another term, nor has it been questionable, since the result became known, that the strong personal popularity of Mr. Lincoln would have saved the district. It was redeemed by Richard Yates in 1850, who carried his election by less than half the majority (seven hundred and fifty-four) which Mr. Lincoln had received in 1846. Under all the circumstances, therefore, the vote for Mr. Lincoln was a remarkable one, showing that he possessed a rare degree of strength with the people. His earnest sincerity of manner always strongly impressed those whom he addressed. They knew him to be a man of strong moral convictions, and there was a universal confidence in his personal integrity, such as is rarely extended to men so prominent in political life. The longer he was tried as a public servant, the more he secured the affection of his constituents. A popularity thus thoroughly grounded, was not to be destroyed by the breezes of momentary passion or prejudice, or materially affected by any idle fickleness of the populace. In his case it grew and intensified to the very hour of his sudden death.

On becoming well established in his profession, Mr. Lincoln fixed his permanent residence at Springfield, the county seat of Sangamon, and the capital of the State. This was on the 15th of April, 1837, and five years later, November 4th, 1842, he was married to Mary, daughter of the Hon. Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky. In the selection of his wife, Mr. Lincoln was as fortunate as in the other events of his life; her accomplished manners and social tastes ren-

dered her a general favorite, while she was as well calculated to secure the happiness and comfort of his modest home at Springfield, as, subsequently, to preside with graceful ease, over the hospitalities of the "White House" at Washington.

It may be proper to add here, that Mrs. Lincoln is a Presbyterian by education and profession, and that her husband, though not a member, was a liberal supporter of the church to which she belongs. It should further be stated that the Sunday-school, and other benevolent enterprises associated with these church relations, always found in him a constant friend.

In this quiet domestic happiness, and in the active practice of his profession, with its round of ordinary duties, and with its exceptional cases of a more general public interest, Mr. Lincoln disappeared for the time from political life. Its peculiar excitements, indeed, were not foreign to his nature, nor could the people, and the party of which he was so commanding a leader, long consent to his retirement. Yet such was his prudent purpose—now especially, with a family to care for;* and to this he adhered, with only occasional exceptions, until, four years after his marriage, he was elected to Congress.

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* The children born to Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, were Robert Lincoln, born in 1843, and now a captain on General Grant's staff; a second son, born in 1846, and William, born in 1850, both of whom are dead; and Thaddeus, born in 1853, who stands beside his illustrious father in the last photograph taken of the President.

CHAPTER V.

MR. LINCOLN IN CONGRESS AND "ON THE STUMP."

Is sent to Congress in 1847.—His record while there.—Resumes the practice of Law.—Enters warmly into the campaign of 1854.—Measures swords with Douglas.—Engages in the Presidential campaign of 1858.—Is nominated for United States Senator.—The celebrated debates between Lincoln and Douglas.—His tribute to the Declaration of Independence.—Pen-portraits of Mr. Lincoln, during his campaign.—Story, relating to the Harper's Ferry Invasion.—Story of his duel with Hardin.—Goes to Ohio, to aid in the canvass there.—Extracts from his speeches.—Gives a helping hand to the canvass in the Eastern States.—His great Cooper Institute Speech.—Touching Scene in New York.

A MAN of family, a recognized leader in the ranks of the Whig party, a successful lawyer, and one whose popularity was daily increasing, it is not a matter of wonder that, in 1848, Mr. Lincoln's fellow-citizens should have deemed him an appropriate man to represent them in the national Congress.

Accordingly, he was returned for the central district of Illinois, in the fall of 1846, and took his seat in the House of Representatives at Washington, on the 6th day of December, 1847, the opening of the thirtieth Congress.

He was the only representative from his State who had been elected under the Whig standard—his six colleagues being all Democrats.

Mr. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, was elected Speaker of the House. This House was replete with the best

talent of the country; and it proved to be one of the most agitated and agitating sessions ever convened in Washington. Enrolled with Mr. Lincoln, as Whigs, were such names as Collamer, Tallmage, Ingersoll, Botts, Clingman, Stephens, Toombs, and Thompson; while, opposed to him in politics, were others, not less distinguished, of whom we may mention Wilmot, Bocock, Rhett, Linn Boyd, and Andrew Johnson—the latter afterward his associate and coadjutor in the great work of restoring the Union. Such conspicuous lights as Webster, Calhoun, Dayton, Davis, Dix, Dickinson, Hale, Bell, Crittenden, and Corwin, constituted a senatorial galaxy which seldom has been outshone. Mr. Lincoln entered into his new duties with characteristic energy, voting on every question, and speaking wherever there seemed to be necessity, with a directness which gave abundant evidence that he fully comprehended the issues of the day.

His Congressional record throughout, was that of a Whig of those days, his votes on all leading national subjects, being invariably what those of Clay, Webster or Corwin would have been, had they occupied his place.

Mr. Giddings having presented a memorial (December 21st, 1847) from certain citizens of the District of Columbia, asking for the repeal of all laws upholding the slave trade in the District, a motion was made to lay it on the table, when Mr. Lincoln voted in the *negative*.

Although he went with the majority of the Whig party in opposing the declaration of war with Mexico, he invariably supported, with his vote, any bill or reso-

lution having for its object the sustenance of the health, comfort and honor of our soldiers engaged in the war. On the 22d of December he introduced, with one of his characteristically humorous and logical speeches in their favor, a series of resolutions, keenly criticising the motives which had superinduced the war. In later years, it was charged against Mr. Lincoln by his political enemies, that he lacked genuine patriotism, inasmuch as he had *voted against* the Mexican war. This charge was sharply and clearly made by Judge Douglas at the first of their joint discussions, in the senatorial contest of 1858. Mr. Lincoln replied: "I was an old Whig, and whenever the Democratic party tried to get me to vote that the war had been *righteously* begun by the President, I would not do it. * * * But, when he, [Judge Douglas], by a general charge conveys the idea that I withheld supplies from the soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican war, or did any thing else to hinder the soldiers, he is, to say the least, grossly and altogether mistaken, as a consultation of the records will prove to him." This explicit denial of the falsity of this charge, bears the impress of its own veracity.

He showed, in fact, on this point the same clearness and directness, the same keen eye for the important point in a controversy, and the same tenacity in holding it fast and thwarting his opponent's utmost efforts to obscure it and cover it up, to draw attention to other points and raise false issues, which were the marked characteristics of his great controversy with Judge Douglas at a subsequent period of their political history.

He saw that the strength of the position of the administration before the people in reference to the

beginning of the war, was in the point, which they lost no opportunity of reiterating, viz., that Mexico had shed the blood of our citizens *on our own soil*. This position he believed to be false, and he accordingly attacked it in a resolution requesting the President to give the House information on that point; which President Polk would have found as difficult to dodge as Douglas found it to dodge the questions which Mr. Lincoln proposed to him.

"On the right of petition," says Mr. Raymond, "Mr. Lincoln, of course, held the right side, voting repeatedly against laying on the table without consideration, petitions in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and against the slave trade.

"On the question of abolishing slavery in the District, he took rather a prominent part. A Mr. Gott had introduced a resolution directing the committee for the District to introduce a bill abolishing the slave trade in the District. To this Mr. Lincoln moved an amendment instructing them to introduce a bill for the abolition, not of the slave trade, but of *slavery* within the District. The bill which he proposed, prevented any slave from ever being brought into the District, except in the case of officers of the Government of the United States, who might bring the necessary servants for themselves and their families while in the District on public business. It prevented any one then resident within the District, or thereafter born within the District, from being held in slavery without the District. It declared that all children of slave mothers born in the District after January 1, 1850, should be free, but should be reasonably supported and educated by the owners of their mothers, and that any owner of slaves in the District might be paid their value from the treasury, and the slaves should thereupon be free; and it provided, also, for the sub-

mission of the act to the people of the District for their acceptance or rejection.

"The question of the Territories came up in many ways. The Wilmot proviso had made its appearance in the previous session, in the August before; but it was repeatedly before this Congress also, when efforts were made to apply it to the territory which we procured from Mexico, and to Oregon. On all occasions, when it was before the House, it was supported by Mr. Lincoln; and he stated, during his contest with Judge Douglas, that he had voted for it, 'in one way and another, about forty times.' He thus showed himself, in 1847, the same friend of freedom for the Territories which he was afterward during the heats of the Kansas struggle.

"Another instance in which the slavery question was before the House, was in the famous Pacheco case. The ground taken by the majority, was that slaves were regarded as *property* by the Constitution, and, when taken for public service, should be paid for as property. The principle involved in the bill was, therefore, the same which the slaveholders have sought in so many ways to maintain. As they sought, afterward, to have it established by a decision of the Supreme Court, so, now, they sought to have it *recognized by Congress*. Mr. Lincoln opposed it in Congress as heartily as he afterward opposed it when it took the more covert but no less dangerous shape of a judicial dictum.

"On other questions which came before Congress, Mr. Lincoln, being a Whig, took the ground which was held by the great body of his party. He believed in the right of Congress to make appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors. He was in favor of giving the public lands, not to speculators, but to actual occupants and cultivators, at as low rates as possible; he was in favor of a protective tariff, and of abolishing the franking privilege."

In short, all his acts, during this his first Congressional term, show a purpose to do his duty to his

country, and to his immediate constituents, without fear or favor.

In the Whig National Convention of 1848, to which Mr. Lincoln was a delegate, he earnestly advocated the nomination of General Zachary Taylor as the nominee for the Presidency, and during the ensuing canvass, he "stumped" the States of Indiana and Illinois, for his favorite candidate. In the latter State, the Democracy, under the leadership of Douglas, made a desperate and successful fight to save their nominee, General Cass. In his speech before the House, July 27, 1848, after alluding to the objections made against General Taylor as a mere military hero, he retorted with effect, by citing the attempt to make out a military record for General Cass; and referring, in a bantering way, to his own services in the Black Hawk war, as already quoted.

He then "walked into" General Cass, in a mingled strain of argument, and good-natured sarcasm, which was exceedingly effective, as will be easily comprehended from the following brief extracts:

AN OBEDIENT DEMOCRAT.

"These extracts show that, in 1846, General Cass was for the Proviso *at once;* that in March, 1847, he was still for it, *but not just then;* and that in December, 1847, he was *against* it altogether. This is a true index to the whole man. When the question was raised in 1846, he was in a blustering hurry to take ground for it. He sought to be in advance, and to avoid the uninteresting position of a mere follower; but soon he began to see glimpses of the great Democratic ox-gad waving in his face, and to hear indistinctly, a voice saying, 'back,' 'back, sir,' 'back a little.' He shakes his head and bats his eyes, and blunders back to his position of March, 1847;

but still the gad waves, and the voice grows more distinct, and sharper still—'back, sir!' 'back, I say!' 'further back!' and back he goes to the position of December, 1847; at which the gad is still, and the voice soothingly says—'So!' 'Stand still at that.'

"Have no fears, gentlemen, of your candidate; he exactly suits you, and we congratulate you upon it. However much you may be distressed about *our* candidate, you have all cause to be contented and happy with your own. If elected, he may not maintain all, or even any of his positions previously taken; but he will be sure to do whatever the party exigency, for the time being, may require; and that is precisely what you want. He and Van Buren are the same 'manner of men;' and like Van Buren, he will never desert *you* till you first desert *him*."

After referring at some length to "extra charges" of General Cass upon the Treasury, Mr. Lincoln continued:

WONDERFUL PHYSICAL CAPACITIES.

"But I have introduced General Cass's accounts here, chiefly to show the wonderful physical capacities of the man. They show that he not only did the labor of several men at the same *time*, but that he often did it at several *places*, many hundred miles apart, *at the same time*. And at eating, too, his capacities are shown to be quite as wonderful. From October, 1821, to May, 1822, he ate ten rations a day in Michigan, ten rations a day here, in Washington, and nearly five dollars' worth a day besides, partly on the road between the two places. And then there is an important discovery in his example—the art of being paid for what one eats, instead of having to pay for it. Hereafter, if any nice young man shall owe a bill which he cannot pay in any other way, he can just board it out. Mr. Speaker, we have all heard of the animal standing in doubt

between two stacks of hay, and starving to death; the like of that would never happen to General Cass. Place the stacks a thousand miles apart, he would stand stock-still, midway between them, and eat them both at once; and the green grass along the line would be apt to suffer some too, at the same time. By all means, make him President, gentlemen. He will feed you bounteously—if—if there is any left after he shall have helped himself."

After the session closed, Mr. Lincoln made a visit to New England, where he delivered some effective campaign speeches, which were enthusiastically received by large audiences, and will be remembered by thousands. His time, however, was chiefly given, during the Congressional recess, to the canvass in the west, where, through the personal strength of Mr. Cass as a northwestern man, the contest was more severe and exciting than in any other part of the country. The final triumph of General Taylor, over all the odds against him, did much to counterbalance, in Mr. Lincoln's mind, the disheartening defeat of four years previous. As before stated, he had declined to be a candidate for re-election to Congress, yet he had the satisfaction of aiding to secure, in his own district, a majority of fifteen hundred for the Whig Presidential candidate.

Mr. Lincoln again took his seat in the House in December, on the reassembling of the thirtieth Congress for its second session. Coming between the Presidential election, which had effected a political revolution, and the inauguration of the new government, this session was a quiet one, passing away without any very important measures of general legislation being acted upon. A calm had followed the recent storms. There were,

indeed, certain movements in regard to slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, which produced some temporary excitement, but resulted in no serious commotion.

With the termination of the thirtieth Congress, by constitutional limitation, on the fourth of March, 1849, Mr. Lincoln's career as a Congressman came to a close, and he retired once more to private life, renewing the professional practice which had been temporarily interrupted by his public employment. He had the satisfaction of knowing that the duties of his responsible position had been discharged with assiduity and fearless adherence to his convictions of right, under whatever circumstances. Scarcely a list of Yeas and Nays can be found, for either session, which does not contain his name; nor was he ever conveniently absent on any critical vote. He never shrank from any responsibility which his sense of justice impelled him to take. And though one of the youngest and most inexperienced members of an uncommonly able and brilliant Congress, he would long have been remembered, even without the more recent events which have naturally followed upon his previous career, as standing among the first in rank among the distinguished statesmen of the thirtieth Congress.

For the five years succeeding the canvass of 1848, Mr. Lincoln took no prominent part in politics, but remained at home in the diligent and successful practice of his profession. We may be sure, however, that he watched closely the course of public events. He had fought slavery often enough to know what it was, and what the animus of its supporters was; nor is it likely

that he was taken very much by surprise when the Nebraska bill was introduced, and the proposition was made by Stephen A. Douglas to repeal that very Missouri Compromise which he had declared to be "a sacred thing, which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb."

The passage of the Nebraska bill, May 22d, 1854, gave new and increased force to the popular feeling in favor of freedom which the proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise had already excited, and promptly the friends of freedom rallied round her banner, to meet the conflict which was now closely impending, forced upon the people by the grasping ambition of the slaveholders. The political campaign of that year in Illinois was one of the severest ever known, and was intensified by the fact that a United States Senator was to be chosen by the Legislature then to be elected, to fill the place of Shields, who had voted with Douglas in favor of the Nebraska bill.

Mr. Lincoln took a prominent part in this campaign; and the crowning victory which gave Illinois her first Republican Legislature, and made Lyman Trumbull her United States Senator, was conceded to have been mainly due to his extraordinary efforts. He met Judge Douglas before the people on two occasions, the only ones when the Judge would consent to such a meeting. The first and greatest debate came off at Springfield, during the progress of the State Fair in October.

The State Fair had been in progress two days, and the capital was full of all manner of men. Hundreds of politicians had met at Springfield, expecting a tournament of an unusual character. Several speeches were

made before, and several after the passage between Lincoln and Douglas, but that was justly held to be *the* event of the season.

Mr. Lincoln opened the discussion, and in his clear and eloquent, yet homely way, exposed the tergiversations of which his opponent had been guilty, and the fallacy of his pretexts for his present course.

Mr. Douglas had always claimed to have voted for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise because he sustained the "great principle" of popular sovereignty, and desired that the inhabitants of Kansas and Nebraska should govern themselves, as they were well able to do. The fallacy of drawing from these premises the conclusion that they therefore should have the right to establish slavery there, was most clearly and conclusively exposed by Mr. Lincoln, so that no one could thereafter be misled by it, unless he was a willing dupe of pro-slavery sophistry.

"My distinguished friend," said he, "says it is an insult to the emigrants of Kansas and Nebraska to suppose that they are not able to govern themselves. We must not slur over an argument of this kind because it happens to tickle the ear. It must be met and answered. I admit that the emigrant to Kansas and Nebraska is competent to govern himself, *but I deny his right to govern any other person without that person's consent.*"

The two opponents met again at Peoria, and we believe it is universally admitted that on both of these occasions Mr. Lincoln had decidedly the advantage. Nor did he confine his labors to the upper portion of Illinois, but he carried the war into the central portions

of the State, and he illuminated the precincts of benighted "Egypt." Here the population was largely composed of emigrants from slave States—Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina—and he urged upon them the slavery issue with all the vigor of his understanding, and all the arts of his true eloquence. The political feeling of the State was completely revolutionized. For the first time in her history a freedom-loving majority ruled her legislative halls, and opposed the retrogressive policy of the Democratic administration at Washington. The election for United States Senator came on, and the anti-Nebraska Democrats united on Mr. Trumbull, the opposition invariably casting their votes for Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln, fearing that the anti-Nebraska democrats, though averse to Mr. Douglas, would relinquish Judge Trumbull for some third candidate of less decided anti-slavery views, readily sacrificed his own interests, and by personal persuasion induced his own supporters to vote for Trumbull, who was thus elected.

Some of Mr. Lincoln's friends, on the floor of the Legislature, wept like children, when constrained by Mr. Lincoln's personal appeals to desert him and unite on Trumbull. It is proper to say, in this connection, that between Trumbull and Lincoln the most cordial relations have always existed, and that the feeling of envy or rivalry is not to be found in the breast of either.

In 1854, the anti-Nebraska (afterward Republican) party offered to Mr. Lincoln the nomination for Governor. He declined, saying, "No, I am not the man: Bissell will make a better Governor than I, and you

can elect him, on account of his Democratic antecedents."

The pressure of the contest between Slavery and Freedom at length organized the Republican party, and, at its first national Convention, which met at Philadelphia, June 17th, 1856, the name of Abraham Lincoln was conspicuous before the convention for the Vice Presidency, standing second to Mr. Dayton on the informal ballot, and receiving one hundred votes. The choice of that convention having settled upon John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton for its candidates, Mr. Lincoln took an active part in the ensuing canvass. The Republican electoral ticket of Illinois was headed by his name, although eventually the Democracy carried the State by a plurality vote.

The great senatorial contest which took place in the summer of 1858, fully established Mr. Lincoln's reputation as an able debator, an eloquent orator, and a wise politician.

On the 4th of March, 1857, Mr. Buchanan had taken his seat in the Presidential chair, the struggle between Freedom and Slavery for the possession of Kansas being then at its height. A few days after his inauguration, the Supreme Court rendered the Dred Scott decision, which was thought by the friends of Slavery to insure their victory, by its holding the Missouri Compromise to be unconstitutional, because the Constitution itself carried Slavery over all the Territories of the United States. In spite of this decision, the friends of Freedom in Kansas maintained their ground. The slaveholders, however, pushed forward their schemes, and in November, 1857, their constitutional Convention, held at

Lecompton, adopted the infamous Lecompton Constitution. The trick by which they submitted to the popular vote only a schedule on the slavery question, instead of the whole Constitution, compelling every voter, however he voted upon this schedule, to vote for their Constitution, which fixed slavery upon the State just as surely whether the schedule was adopted or not, will be well remembered, as well as the feeling which so villainous a scheme excited throughout the north. Judge Douglas had sustained the Dred Scott decision, but he could not sustain this attempt to force upon the people of Kansas a constitution against their will. He declared that he did not care himself whether the people "voted the slavery clause up or down," but he thought they ought to have the chance to vote for or against the Constitution itself.

By this refusal to support the Lecompton fraud, he, of course, earned for himself the enmity of the Administration; but his strength, both in and out of Illinois, was still enormous. Indeed, his defection from the then openly-avowed pro-slavery policy of his party, had won for him the approval of many Republicans, so that he was, in reality, stronger than ever. Of course, under these circumstances, it required a man of no ordinary ability to contest the State of Illinois with the "Little Giant." It was then that Mr. Lincoln stood forth in the opinion of his party and of the lovers of freedom of Illinois, as pre-eminently the man to become their champion. He accordingly received the nomination for United States Senator from the Republican State Convention, which met at Springfield, June 2d, 1858.

The speech of Mr. Lincoln to the Convention which

had nominated him, was the beginning of the campaign.

Its opening sentences contained those celebrated words, which have been often quoted both by friends and enemies: "*A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.*" Little idea could he have had then how near the time was when the country should be united upon this point. Still less could he have dreamed through what convulsions it was to pass before it should reach that wished-for position:—into what an abyss of madness and crime the advocates of Slavery would plunge in their efforts to "push it forward till it should become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new—North as well as South." But there seemed to him to be manifest indications of their design, and he devoted his speech to showing forth the machinery which they had now almost completed, for the attainment of their purpose; it only needing that the Supreme Court should say that the Constitution carried slavery over the States, as they had already in the Dred Scott decision declared that it was carried over the Territories. He closed his speech with a sharp attack upon Douglas, as being a party to this plan to legalize slavery over the continent. It was plain from the first that the struggle would take the shape of a personal contest between the two men. Each recognized the other as the embodiment of principles to which he was in deadly hostility. Douglas was the champion of all sympathizers

with and advocates of slavery at the North. Lincoln glowed with love of freedom and humanity. The projected tournament of debate between the rival candidates was opened by Mr. Lincoln, in a brief note, under the date of July 24th, requesting an arrangement "to divide time, and address the same audiences during the present canvass." Douglas accepted the challenge—although rather with apparent unwillingness. The terms were agreed upon, and the places and days of meeting specified.

It will be impossible to give any thing more than a brief synopsis of these celebrated debates. It was the general verdict of the press and of the country, that, in every encounter, Mr. Lincoln held his ground firmly against his talented opponent; and it is very probable that the majority accorded to the former the meed of victory.

On the evening before the debate which took place at Freeport, Mr. Lincoln was in company with a few friends, when it was remarked by some of them, that if he cornered Douglas on the question of the Dred Scott decision, his opponent (Douglas) would surely "take the bull by the horns, and assert his squatter sovereignty in defiance of that decision, and that will make him Senator." "That may be," replied Lincoln, "but, if he takes that shoot, HE *never can be President.*"

Was there not something like a prophecy in this careless rejoinder?

Judah Benjamin, of Louisiana, one of the ablest of southern Senators—afterwards Secretary of State in Jefferson Davis's cabinet—complimented Mr. Lincoln very highly, in the course of a speech wherein he had occasion to review this celebrated series of debates.

Speaking of the queries propounded by Douglas to his opponent, and the answers they elicited, Mr. Benjamin observed :

"It is impossible, Mr. President, however we may differ in opinion with the man, not to admire the perfect candor and frankness with which these answers were given; no equivocation—no evasion."

The seven joint debates were held as follows:—at Ottawa on August 21st; at Freeport on August 27th; at Jonesboro' on September 15th; at Charleston on September 18th; at Galesburg on October 7th; at Quincy on October 13th; at Alton on October 15th:

"These seven tournaments," says Mr. Raymond, "raised the greatest excitement throughout the State. They were held in all quarters of the State, from Freeport in the north to Jonesboro' in the extreme south. Everywhere the different parties turned out to do honor to their champions. Processions and cavalcades, bands of music and cannon-firing, made every day a day of excitement. But far greater was the excitement of such oratorical contests between two such skilled debaters, before mixed audiences of friends and foes, to rejoice over every keen thrust at the adversary; to be cast down by each failure to parry the thrust so aimed. We cannot pretend to give more than the barest sketch of these great efforts of Mr. Lincoln. They are and always will be, to those who are interested in the history of the slavery contest, most valuable and important documents.

"In the first speech at Ottawa, besides defending himself from some points which Douglas had made against him, and among others, explaining and enlarging upon that passage from his Springfield speech, of 'A house divided against itself,' he took up the charge which he had also made in that speech of the conspiracy to extend slavery over the northern States, and

pressed it home, citing as proof of its existence a speech which Douglas himself had made on the Lecompton bill, in which he had substantially made the same charge upon Buchanan and others. He then showed again that all that was necessary for the accomplishment of the scheme was a decision of the Supreme Court that no State could exclude slavery, as the court had already decided that no Territory could exclude it, and the acquiescence of the people in such a decision; and he told the people that Douglas was doing all in his power to bring about such acquiescence in advance, by declaring that the true position was not to care whether slavery "was voted down or up," and by announcing himself in favor of the Dred Scott decision, not because it was right, but because a decision of the court is to him a 'Thus saith the Lord,' and thus committing himself to the next decision just as firmly as to this. He closed his speech with the following eloquent words: 'Henry Clay, my beau ideal of a statesman—the man for whom I fought all my humble life—once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of Independence and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return; they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then, and not till then, could they perpetuate slavery in this country. To my thinking, Judge Douglas is, by his example and vast influence, doing that very thing in this community, when he says that the negro has nothing in the Declaration of Independence. Henry Clay plainly understood the contrary. Judge Douglas is going back to the era of our Revolution, and to the extent of his ability muzzling the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. When he invites any people, willing to have slavery, to establish it, he is blowing out the moral lights around us. When he says he 'cares not whether slavery is voted down or up'—that it is a sacred right of self-government,

he is, in my judgment, penetrating the human soul and eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty in this American people. And when, by all these means and appliances, he shall succeed in bringing public sentiment to an exact accordance with his own views—when these vast assemblages shall echo back all these sentiments, when they shall come to repeat his views and to avow his principles, and to say all that he says on these mighty questions—then it needs only the formality of the second Dred Scott decision, which he endorses in advance, to make slavery alike lawful in all the States—old as well as new, north as well as south.

"In the second debate at Freeport, Mr. Lincoln gave categorical answers to seven questions which Douglas had proposed to him, and in his turn put four questions to Douglas, to which he got but evasive replies. He also pressed home upon his opponent a charge of quoting resolutions as being adopted at a Republican State Convention, which were never so adopted, and again called Douglas's attention to the conspiracy to nationalize slavery, and he showed that his pretended desire to leave the people of a Territory free to establish slavery or exclude it, was really only a desire to allow them to establish it, as was shown by his voting against Mr. Chase's amendment to the Nebraska bill, which gave them leave to exclude it. In the third debate at Jonesboro, Mr. Lincoln showed that Douglas and his friends were trying to change the position of the country on the slavery question from what it was when the Constitution was adopted, and that the disturbance of the country had arisen from this pernicious effort. He then cited from Democratic speeches and platforms of former days to show that they occupied then the very opposite ground on the question from that which was taken now, and showed up the evasive character of Douglas's answers to the questions which he had proposed, especially the subterfuge of 'unfriendly legislation' which he had set forth as the means by which the

people of a Territory could exclude slavery from its limits in spite of the Dred Scott decision.

"When Mr. Lincoln was preparing these questions for Douglas, he was urged by some of his friends not to corner him on that point, because he would surely stand by his doctrine of squatter sovereignty in defiance of the Dred Scott decision, 'and that,' said they, 'will make him Senator.' 'That may be,' said Mr. Lincoln, with a twinkle in his eye, 'but if he takes that shoot he never can be President.'

"Mr. Lincoln's sagacity did not fail him here. This position which Douglas took of 'unfriendly legislation,' was a stumbling block which he was never able to get over; and if the contest between them had brought out no other good result, the compelling Douglas to take this ground was an immense success.

"The fourth speech, at Charleston, was devoted by Mr. Lincoln to enlarging upon the evidence of a charge previously made by Judge Trumbull upon Douglas of being himself responsible for a clause in the Kansas bill which would have deprived the people of Kansas of the right to vote upon their own constitution—a charge which Douglas could never try to answer without losing his temper.

"In the fifth debate, Mr. Lincoln answered the charge that the Republican party was sectional; and after again exploding the fraudulent resolutions and giving strong proof that Douglas himself was a party to the fraud, and again showing that Douglas had failed to answer his question about the acceptance of the new Dred Scott decision, which, he said, was just as sure to be made as to-morrow is to come, if the Democratic party 'shall be sustained' in the elections, he discussed the acquisition of further territory and the importance of deciding upon any such acquisition, by the effect which it would have upon the slavery question among ourselves.

"In the next debate, at Quincy, besides making some personal points as to the mode in which Douglas had conducted

the previous discussions, he stated clearly and briefly what were the principles of the Republican party, what they proposed to do, and what they did not propose to do. He said that they looked upon slavery as 'a moral, a social, and a political wrong,' and they 'proposed a course of conduct which should treat it as a wrong;' did not propose to 'disturb it in the States,' but did propose to 'restrict it to its present limits;" did not propose to decide that Dred Scott was free, but did not believe that the decision in that case was a political rule binding the voters, the Congress, or the President, and proposed 'so resisting it as to have it reversed if possible, and a new judicial rule established on the subject.'

"Mr. Lincoln's last speech, at Alton, was a very full and conclusive argument of the whole slavery question. He showed that the present Democratic doctrines were not those held at the time of the Revolution in reference to slavery; showed how the agitation of the country had come from the attempt to set slavery upon a different footing, and showed the dangers to the country of this attempt. He brought the whole controversy down to the vital question whether slavery is wrong or not, and demonstrated that the present Democratic sentiment was that it was not wrong, and that Douglas and those who sympathized with him did not desire or expect ever to see the country freed from this gigantic evil.

"It must not be supposed that these seven debates were all of Mr. Lincoln's appearances before the people during the campaign. He made some fifty other speeches all over the State, and everywhere his strong arguments, his forcible language, and his homely way of presenting the great issues, so as to bring them home to the hearts of the people, had a powerful effect. The whole State fairly boiled with the excitement of the contest. Nor this alone, for all over the country the eyes of the people were turned to Illinois as the great battle-ground, and the earnest wishes of almost all who loved freedom followed Mr. Lincoln throughout all the heated

struggle. He had, however, other opposition besides that of his political opponents. The action of Judge Douglas on the Lecompton constitution, and the bitter hostility of the southern wing of the Democratic party towards him, had led very many Republicans, and some of high consideration and influence in other States, to favor his return to the Senate. They deemed this due to the zeal and efficiency with which he had resisted the attempt to force slavery into Kansas against the will of the people, and as important in encouraging other Democratic leaders to imitate the example of Douglas in throwing off the yoke of the slaveholding aristocracy. This feeling proved to be of a good deal of weight against Mr. Lincoln in the canvas.

"Then, again, the State had been so unfairly districted, that the odds were very heavily against the Republicans, and thus it came about that although on the popular vote Douglas was beaten by more than five thousand votes, he was enabled to carry off the substantial prize of victory by his majority in the Legislature. The popular vote was for Lincoln, by *more than four thousand majority* over Douglas. But the vote for Senator being cast by the Legislature, Mr. Douglas was elected, his supporters having a majority of *eight* on joint ballot. Notwithstanding the result, the endeavors of Mr. Lincoln during the debate had caused an immense increase in the Republican vote; and his party had no reason to regret that their choice of a leader had fallen upon him. We say the 'substantial prize of victory,' and so it was thought to be at the time. But later events showed that the battle which was then fought was after all but the precursor of the Presidential contest, and that it secured to Mr. Lincoln the victory in that more important struggle."

During this campaign, Mr. Lincoln paid the following glowing tribute to the Declaration of Independence:

"These communities, (the thirteen colonies,) by their representatives in the old Independence Hall, said to the world of

men, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are born equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty and wise, and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures. Yes, gentlemen, to all His creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the Divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on, and degraded, and imbruted by its fellows. They grasped not only the race of men then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the furthest posterity. They created a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths that when, in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men, were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth, and justice, and mercy, and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built.

"Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur, and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are not created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty, let me entreat you to come

back—return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution. Think nothing of me, take no thought for the political fate of any man whomsoever, but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence.

'You may do any thing with me you choose, if you will but heed these sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. While pretending no indifference to earthly honors, I *do claim* to be actuated in this contest by something higher than an anxiety for office. I charge you to drop every paltry and insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothing; I am nothing; Judge Douglas is nothing. *But do not destroy that immortal emblem of humanity—the Declaration of American Independence.*"

As we have already stated, the exciting struggle was watched with intense interest, not only by the members of the respective political parties of which the two orators were recognized leaders and champions, but by that portion of the different communities of the Union who do not generally trouble their minds with political contests. Copious extracts from the speeches of both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas were published in the journals of the day, and criticisms of the orators and their discussions appeared in the leading magazines and newspapers.

From some of the latter we select the following as showing in what estimation the talents and ability of the honorable subject of our sketch were held at the time of which we now more particularly speak, and to give our readers, who have not had the opportunity to see Mr. Lincoln, an idea of his personal appearance.

One writer gives the following pen-portrait:

Mr. Lincoln stands six feet and four inches high in his stockings. His frame is not muscular, but gaunt and wiry; his arms are long, but not unreasonably so for a person of his height; his lower limbs are not disproportioned to his body. In walking, his gait, though firm, is never brisk. He steps slowly and deliberately, almost always with his head inclined forward, and his hands clasped behind his back. In matters of dress he is by no means precise. Always clean, he is never fashionable; he is careless, but not slovenly. In manner he is remarkably cordial, and, at the same time, simple. His politeness is always sincere, but never elaborate and oppressive. A warm shake of the hand, and a warmer smile of recognition, are his methods of greeting his friends. At rest, his features, though those of a man of mark, are not such as belong to a handsome man; but when his fine dark gray eyes are lighted up by any emotion, and his features begin their play, he would be chosen from among a crowd as one who had in him not only the kindly sentiments which women love, but the heavier metal of which full-grown men and Presidents are made. His hair is black, and though thin is wiry. His head sits well on his shoulders, but beyond that it defies description. It nearer resembles that of Clay than that of Webster; but it is unlike either. It is very large, and, phrenologically, well proportioned, betokening power in all its developments. A slightly Roman nose, a wide-cut mouth, and a dark complexion, with the appearance of having been weather-beaten, complete the description.

"In his personal habits, Mr. Lincoln is as simple as a child. He loves a good dinner, and eats with the appetite which goes with a great brain; but his food is plain and nutritious. He never drinks intoxicating liquors of any sort, not even a glass of wine. He is not addicted to tobacco in any of its shapes. He never was accused of a licentious act in all his life. He never uses profane language.

"A friend says that once, when in a towering rage, in conse-

quence of the efforts of certain parties to perpetrate a fraud on the State, he was heard to say: 'They sha'n't do it, d—n 'em!' but beyond an expression of that kind, his bitterest feelings never carry him. He never gambles; we doubt if he ever indulges in any games of chance. He is particularly cautious about incurring pecuniary obligations for any purpose whatever, and in debt, he is never content until the score is discharged. We presume he owes no man a dollar. He never speculates. The rage for the sudden acquisition of wealth never took hold of him. His gains from his profession have been moderate, but sufficient for his purposes. While others have dreamed of gold, he has been in pursuit of knowledge. In all his dealings he has the reputation of being generous but exact, and, above all, religiously honest. He would be a bold man who would say that Abraham Lincoln ever wronged any one out of a cent, or ever spent a dollar that he had not honestly earned. His struggles in early life have made him careful of money; but his generosity with his own is proverbial. He is a regular attendant upon religious worship, and though not a communicant, is a pew-holder and liberal supporter of the Presbyterian Church, in Springfield, to which Mrs. Lincoln belongs. He is a scrupulous teller of the truth—too exact in his notions to suit the atmosphere of Washington, as it now is. His enemies may say that he tells Black Republican lies; but no man ever charged that, in a professional capacity, or as a citizen dealing with his neighbors, he would depart from the scriptural command. At home, he lives like a gentleman of modest means and simple tastes. A good-sized house of wood, simply but tastefully furnished, surrounded by trees and flowers, is his own, and there he lives, at peace with himself, the idol of his family, and for his honesty, ability and patriotism, the admiration of his countrymen."

Another person gives the subjoined sketch of him:

"In personal appearance, Mr. Lincoln, or, as he is more

familiarly termed among those who know him best, 'Old Uncle Abe,' is long, lean, and wiry. In motion he has a great deal of the elasticity and awkwardness which indicate the rough training of his early life, and his conversation savors strongly of western idioms and pronunciation. His height is six feet four inches. His complexion is about that of an octoroon; his face, without being by any means beautiful, is genial-looking, and good humor seems to lurk in every corner of its innumerable angles. He has dark hair tinged with gray, a good forehead, small eyes, a long penetrating nose, with nostrils such as Napoleon always liked to find in his best generals, because they indicated a long head and clear thoughts; and a mouth which, aside from being of magnificent proportions, is probably the most expressive feature of his face.

"As a speaker he is ready, precise, and fluent. His manner before a popular assembly is as he pleases to make it, being either superlatively ludicrous, or very impressive. He employs but little gesticulation, but when he desires to make a point, produces a shrug of his shoulders, an elevation of his eyebrows, a depression of his mouth, and a general malformation of countenance so comically awkward that it never fails to 'bring down the house.' His enunciation is slow and emphatic, and his voice, though sharp and powerful, at times has a frequent tendency to dwindle into a shrill and unpleasant sound; but, as before stated, the peculiar characteristic of his delivery is the remarkable mobility of his features, the frequent contortions of which excite a merriment his words could not produce."

A third says:

"In perhaps the severest test that could have been applied to any man's temper—his political contest with Senator Douglas in 1858—Mr. Lincoln not only proved himself an able speaker and a good tactician, but demonstrated that it is possible to carry on the fiercest political warfare without once descending to rude personality and course denunciation. We

have it on the authority of a gentleman who followed Abraham Lincoln throughout the whole of that campaign, that in spite of all the temptations to an opposite course to which he was continuously exposed, no personalities against his opponent, no vituperation or coarseness, ever defiled his lips. His kind and genial nature lifted him above a resort to any such weapons of political warfare, and it was the commonly-expressed regret of fiercer natures that he treated his opponent too courteously and urbanely. Vulgar personalities and vituperation are the last thing that can be truthfully charged against Abraham Lincoln. His heart is too genial, his good sense too strong, and his innate self-respect too predominant to permit him to indulge in them. His nobility of nature—and we may use the term advisedly—has been as manifest throughout his whole career as his temperate habits, his self-reliance, and his mental and intellectual power."

And a fourth, a distinguished scholar, after listening to a speech delivered at Galesburgh, thus wrote:

"The men are entirely dissimilar. Mr. Douglas is a thick-set, finely-built, courageous man, and has an air of self-confidence that does not a little to inspire his supporters with hope. Mr. Lincoln is a tall, lank man, awkward, apparently diffident, and when not speaking has neither firmness in his countenance nor fire in his eye.

"Mr. Lincoln has a rich, silvery voice, enunciates with great distinctness, and has a fine command of language. He commenced by a review of the points Mr. Douglas had made. In this he showed great tact, and his retorts, though gentlemanly, were sharp, and reached to the core the subject in dispute. While he gave but little time to the work of review, we did not feel that any thing was omitted which deserved attention."

The most graphic description of Mr. Lincoln, as he appeared during this canvass, is given by Mr. Albert

D. Richardson, the well-known *Tribune* correspondent, in his book entitled "The Field, the Dungeon, the Escape:"

"During the great canvass for the United States Senate between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas," says Mr. Richardson, "the right of Congress to exclude slavery from the territories was the chief point in dispute. Kansas was the only region to which it had any practical application; and we, who were residing there, read the debates with peculiar interest.

"No such war of intellects, on the rostrum, was ever witnessed in America. Entirely without general culture, more ignorant of books than any other public man of his day, Douglas was christened the Little Giant by the unerring popular instinct. He who without the learning of the schools, and without preparation, could cope with Webster, Seward, and Sumner, surely deserved that appellation. He despised study. Rising after one of Mr. Sumner's most scholarly and elaborate speeches, he said: 'Mr. President, this is very elegant and able, but we all know perfectly well that the Massachusetts Senator has been rehearsing it every night for a month, before a looking-glass, with a negro holding a candle.'

"Douglas was beyond all cotemporaries a man of the people, and the people loved him. Lincoln, too, was distinctively of the masses; but he represented their sober second thought, their higher aspirations, their better possibilities. Douglas embodied their average impulses, both good and bad. Better than any one else he knew the residents of the Northwest down to their minutest sympathies and prejudices. Upon the stump, his fluency, his hard common sense, and his wonderful voice, which could thunder like the cataract or whisper with the breeze, enabled him to sway them at his will.

"Hitherto invincible at home, he found a foeman worthy of his steel. All over the country people began to ask about this 'Honest Abe Lincoln,' whose inexhaustible anecdotes were so

droll yet so exactly to the point; whose logic was so irresistible; whose modesty, fairness and personal integrity won golden opinions from his political enemies; who, without 'trimming,' enjoyed the support of the many-headed Opposition in Illinois, from the Abolition Owen Lovejoys of the northern counties, down to the 'Conservative' old Whigs of the Egyptian districts, who still believed in the divinity of slavery.

"Those who did not witness it will never comprehend the universal and intense horror at every thing looking toward 'negro equality' which then prevailed in southern Illinois. Republican politicians succumbed to it. In their journals and platforms they sometimes said distinctly: 'We care nothing for the negro. We advocate his exclusion from our State. We oppose slavery in the territories only because it is a curse to the white man.' Mr. Lincoln never descended to this level. In his plain, moderate, conciliatory way, he would urge upon his simple auditors that this matter has a right and a wrong—that the great declaration of their fathers meant something. And—always his strong point—he would put this so clearly to the common apprehension, and so touch the people's moral sense, that his opponents found their old cries of 'Abolitionist' and 'Negro-worshipper' hollow and powerless.

"His defeat, by a very slight majority, proved victory in disguise. The debates gave him national reputation. Republican Executive Committees in other States issued verbatim reports of the speeches of both Douglas and Lincoln bound up together in the order of their delivery. They printed them just as they stood, without one word of comment, as the most convincing plea for their cause. Rarely, if ever, has any man received so high a compliment as was thus paid to Mr. Lincoln.

"In Kansas his stories began to stick like chestnut burrs in the popular ear—to pass from mouth to mouth, and from cabin to cabin. The young lawyers, physicians, and other politicians who swarm in the new country, began to quote from his argu-

ments in their public speeches, and to regard him as the special champion of their political faith.

"Late in the autumn of 1859, he visited the territory for the first and last time. With the Hon. Marcus J. Parrot, then Delegate in Congress, and the Hon. A. Carter Wilder, present Representative, I went to Troy, in Doniphan county, to hear him. In the imaginative language of the frontier, Troy was a 'town'—possibly a city. But, save a shabby frame court-house, a tavern, and a few shanties, its urban glories were visible only to the eye of faith. It was intensely cold. The sweeping prairie wind rocked the crazy buildings, and cut the faces of travellers like a knife. Mr. Wilder froze his hand during our ride, and Mr. Lincoln's party arrived wrapped in buffalo robes.

"Not more than forty people assembled in that little, bare-walled court-house. There was none of the magnetism of a multitude to inspire the long, angular, ungainly orator, who rose up behind a rough table. With little gesticulation, and that little ungraceful, he began, not to declaim, but to talk. In a conversational tone, he argued the question of slavery in the territories, in the language of an average Ohio or New York farmer. I thought, 'If the Illinoisans consider this a great man, their ideas must be very peculiar.'

"But in ten or fifteen minutes I was unconsciously and irresistibly drawn by the clearness and closeness of his argument. Link after link it was forged and welded like a blacksmith's chain. He made few assertions, but merely asked questions: 'Is not this true? If you admit that fact, is not this induction correct?' Give him his premises, and his conclusion were inevitable as death.

"His fairness and candor were very noticeable. He ridiculed nothing, burlesqued nothing, misrepresented nothing. So far from distorting the views held by Mr Douglas and his adherents, he stated them with more strength probably than any one of their advocates could have done. Then, very

modestly and courteously, he inquired into their soundness. He was too kind for bitterness and too great for vituperation.

"His anecdotes, of course, were felicitous and illustrative. He delineated the tortuous windings of the Democracy upon the slavery question, from Thomas Jefferson down to Franklin Pierce. Whenever he heard a man avow his determination to adhere unswervingly to the principles of the Democratic party it reminded him, he said, of a 'little incident' in Illinois. A lad, plowing upon the prairie, asked his father in what direction he should strike a new furrow. The parent replied, 'Steer for that yoke of oxen, standing at the further end of the field.' The father went away, and the lad obeyed. But just as he started, the oxen started also. He kept steering for them; and they continued to walk. He followed them entirely around the field, and came back to the starting point, having furrowed a circle instead of a line.

"The address lasted for an hour and three quarters. Neither rhetorical, graceful, nor eloquent, it was still very fascinating. The people of the frontier believe profoundly in fair play, and in hearing both sides. So they now called for an aged ex-Kentuckian, who was the heaviest slaveholder in the Territory. Responding, he thus prefaced his remarks: 'I have heard, during my life, all the ablest public speakers—all the eminent statesmen of the past and the present generation. And while I dissent utterly from the doctrines of this address, and shall endeavor to refute some of them, candor compels me to say that it is the most able and the most logical speech I ever listened to.'"

A good story is told of Mr. Lincoln in connection with the Harper's Ferry affair. It is said that when he first heard of the Harper's Ferry invasion, he remarked, that it was "a shocking and lamentable occurrence;" but foreseeing the capital which the Democracy would make out of it, he added, "I do not think the Democ-

racy can cross the river of their difficulties at Harper's Ferry."

We subjoin another amusing one from a Chicago journal:

"A great deal of fun was had by the jokers in Springfield, about an affair in which, long time ago, our good friend Lincoln, *the* candidate for the Presidency was engaged. A young lady of that city, now the wife of a distinguished statesman, wrote a paragraph in a burlesque vein, for the *Sangamon Journal*, in which General Shields was good humoredly ridiculed for his connection with some public measure. The General was greatly incensed, and demanded of the editor the name of the offending party. 'Old Sim' put him off with a request of twenty-four hours to consider the matter, and shortly afterward meeting Lincoln, told him his perplexity. 'Tell him I wrote it,' said Lincoln; and tell him he did. After a deal of diplomacy to get a retraction of the offensive parts of the paragraph in question, Shields sent a challenge, which Lincoln accepted, named broadswords as the weapons, and an unfrequented, well-wooded island in the Mississippi, just below Alton, as the place. 'Old Abe' was first on the ground, and when Shields arrived, he found his antagonist, his sword in one hand and a hatchet in the other, with his coat off, clearing away the underbrush! Before the preliminary arrangements were completed, John J. Hardin, who, somehow, had got wind of what was afloat, appeared on the scene, called them both d——d fools, and by his arguments, addressed to their common sense, and by his ridicule of the figure that they, two well-grown, bearded men, were making there, each with a frog-sticker in his hand, broke up the fight. We do not know how General Shields feels, but we have heard of Lincoln's saying, that the acceptance of the challenge was the meanest thing he ever did in his life. Hardin—than whom a braver man never stood—never came out of that terrible charge at Buena Vista, to which he led the Second Regiment of Illinois Volunteers. If the events of his

life passed in quick review before his mind, as he lay wounded and dying in that fatal ravine, we doubt not this act of his, by which he prevented two really brave men from engaging in fatal strife, was not the least of the consolations of that bitter hour."

Admiration of the manly bearing and gallant conduct of Mr. Lincoln, throughout this campaign, which had early assumed a national importance, led to the spontaneous suggestion of his name, in various parts of the country, as a candidate for the Presidency. From the beginning to the end of the contest, he had proved himself an able statesman, an effective orator, a true gentleman, and an honest man. While, therefore, Douglas was returned to the Senate, there was a general presentiment that a juster verdict was yet to be had, and that Mr. Lincoln and his cause would be ultimately vindicated before the people. That time was to come, even sooner, perhaps, than his friends, in their momentary despondency, had expected, and from that hour to the present, the fame of Abraham Lincoln has been enlarging and ripening, and admiration of his noble character has become still more deeply fixed in the popular heart.

During the year following this great contest with Douglas, Mr. Lincoln again gave himself almost exclusively to professional life. During the autumn, however, of 1859, when Mr. Douglas visited Ohio, and endeavored to rally the Democracy of that State, an earnest invitation was sent to Mr. Lincoln to assist the Republicans in their canvass. In compliance with this Macedonian appeal for help, he delivered two most effective speeches in Ohio, one at Columbus, and the other at Cincinnati. The following extracts from the

latter speech (September 17th) are interesting as expressing his convictions concerning the great issues of the day, and as characteristic of his familiar style of public address.

SHOOTING OVER THE LINE.

"It has occurred to me here to-night, that if I ever do shoot over at the people on the other side of the line in a slave State, and purpose to do so, keeping my skin safe, that I have now about the best chance I shall ever have. [Laughter and applause.] I should not wonder if there are some Kentuckians about this audience; we are close to Kentucky; and whether that be so or not, we are on elevated ground, and by speaking distinctly, I should not wonder if some of the Kentuckians should hear me on the other side of the river. [Laughter.] For that reason I propose to address a portion of what I have to say to the Kentuckians.

"I say, then, in the first place, to the Kentuckians, that I am what they call, as I understand it, a 'Black Republican.' [Applause and laughter.] I think that slavery is wrong, morally, socially and politically. I desire that it should be no further spread in these United States, and I should not object if it should gradually terminate in the whole Union. [Applause.] While I say this for myself, I say to you, Kentuckians, that I understand that you differ radically with me upon this proposition; that you believe slavery is a good thing; that slavery is right; that it ought to be extended and perpetuated in this Union. Now, there being this broad difference between us, I do not pretend in addressing myself to you, Kentuckians, to attempt proselyting you at all; that would be a vain effort. I do not enter upon it. I only propose to try to show you that you ought to nominate for the next Presidency, at Charleston, my distinguished friend, Judge Douglas. [Applause.] In whatever there is a difference between you

and him, I understand he is as sincerely for you, and more wisely for you, than you are for yourselves. [Applause.] I will try to demonstrate that proposition. Understand, now, I say that I believe he is as sincerely for you, and more wisely for you, than you are for yourselves."

Mr. Lincoln then went on to show that Douglas was constantly endeavoring to "mould the public opinion of the North to the ends" desired by the South; that he differed only from the South so far as was necessary to retain any hold upon his own section; that, not daring to maintain that slavery was right, he professes an indifference whether it was "voted up or voted down"—thus indirectly advancing the opinion that it was not wrong; and that he had taken a step in advance, by doing what would not have been thought of by any man five years ago; by denying that the Declaration of Independence asserts any principle intended to be applicable to black men, or that properly includes them. The tendency of this charge was "to bring the public mind to the conclusion that when men are spoken of, the negro is not meant; that when negroes are spoken of, brutes alone are contemplated."

Of the certainty of a speedy Republican triumph in the nation, and of its results, Mr. Lincoln said:

WHAT THE OPPOSITION MEAN TO DO.

"I will tell you, so far as I am authorized to speak for the Opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you, as nearly as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison treated you. [Cheers.] We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institution; to abide by all and every compromise of the constitution—and, in a

word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you, so far as degenerated men (if we have degenerated) may, imitating the examples of those noble fathers, Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. [Applause.] We mean to remember that you are as good as we; that there is no difference between us other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly. We mean to marry your girls when we have a chance—the white ones I mean—[Laughter]—and I have the honor to inform you that I once did get a chance in that way. [A voice, 'Good for you,' and applause.]"

PLAIN QUESTIONS TO THE DISUNION DEMOCRACY.

"I have told you what we mean to do. I want to know, now, when that thing takes place, what you mean to do. I often hear it intimated that you mean to divide the Union whenever a Republican, or any thing like it, is elected President of the United States. [A voice, 'That is so.'] 'That is so,' one of them says. I wonder if he is a Kentuckian? [A voice, 'He is a Douglas man.'] Well, then, I want to know what you are going to do with your half of it? [Applause and laughter.] Are you going to split the Ohio down through, and push your half off a-piece? or are you going to keep it right alongside of us outrageous fellows? Or, are you going to build up a wall someway between your country and ours, by which that movable property of yours can't come over here any more, and you lose it? Do you think you can better yourselves on that subject, by leaving us here under no obligation whatever to return those specimens of your movable property that come hither? You have divided the Union because we would not do right with you, as you think, upon that subject. When we cease to be under obligatious to do any thing for you, how much better off do you think you will be? Will you make war upon us, and kill us all? Why, gentlemen, I

think you are as gallant and as brave men as live; that you can fight as bravely in a good cause, man for man, as any other people living; that you have shown yourselves capable of this upon various occasions; but, man for man, you are not better than we are, and there are not so many of you as there are of us. [Loud cheering.] You will never make much of a hand at whipping us. If we were fewer in numbers than you, I think that you could whip us; if we were equal, it would likely be a drawn battle; but being inferior in numbers, you will make nothing by attempting to master us."

WHAT REPUBLICANS MUST DO.

"I say that we must not interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists, because the Constitution forbids it, and the general welfare does not require us to do so. We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law, because the Constitution requires us, as I understand it, not to withhold such a law, but we must prevent the outspreading of the institution, because neither the Constitution nor the general welfare requires us to extend it. We must prevent the revival of the African slave trade, and the enacting by Congress of a Territorial slave code. We must prevent each of these things being done by either congresses or courts. THE PEOPLE OF THESE UNITED STATES ARE THE RIGHTFUL MASTERS OF BOTH CONGRESSES AND COURTS [applause], not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert that Constitution. [Applause.]"

From a chapter of Personal Reminiscences of Mr. Lincoln, by the Rev. M. D. Conway, lately published in the *Fortnightly Review*, of London, we extract the following graphic description of this Cincinnati speech:

"It was during this memorable political struggle, which presently led the champions to address public meetings far beyond the limits of their State, that I first saw and heard

Abraham Lincoln. It was at Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio, an important point as being at the very centre of the country, and on the line separating the free from the slave States. Across the Ohio river, narrower than the Thames, rise the hills of Kentucky, and one may (or *could*) stand in the streets of Cincinnati and see slaves at their work. From the towns of Newport and Covington, on the Kentucky side, hundreds of persons were in the habit of coming to the political meetings of the city, or to witness the performances of their favorite actors, among whom may have been Wilkes Booth. To the great delight of the Kentuckians, and of the Democracy, so-called, Mr. Douglas had delivered a public address there advocating what he used to call his 'gur-reat per-rinciple' that the newborn Territories should be allowed to arrange their own institutions—and especially to introduce or exclude slavery—as freely as full-grown States. Mr. Lincoln was soon after invited to the city. The meeting was in a large public square, and two or three thousands of persons were present, possibly more, to hear this new man. Party feeling was running very high, and there were adverse parties in the crowd who had come with the intention of disturbing the meeting. Mr. Lincoln appeared on a balcony in the clear moonlight, and without paying the slighest attention to the perturbations of the multitude, began his address. I had at first paused on the skirts of the crowd, meaning to leave soon; but an indefinable something in the tones of the man's voice induced me to go closer. Surely if there were to be chosen a figure-head for America it must be this! There was something undeniably grotesque about the face, and yet not a coarse line; it was battered and bronzed, but the light of an eye, both gentle and fiery, kept it from being hard. The nose was a good strong buttress—such as Bonaparte would have valued—to a solid brow; and the forehead rose to its greatest height in the region assigned to the benevolent and the conscientious organs, declining along those of firmness and self-esteem into what I

should call a decidedly feeble occiput. But never was there a case in which the sage's request—'Speak, that I may see you'—had more need to be repeated; for a voice more flexible, more attuned to every kind of expression, and to carry truth in every tone, was never allotted to mortal. Although he seemed to me oddly different from any other man whom I had seen, he seemed also related to them all, and to have lineaments characteristic of every section of the country; and this is why I thought he might well be taken as its figure-head. His manner of speaking in public was simple, direct, and almost religious; he was occasionally humorous, but rarely told anecdotes as he did in private conversation; and there was no sarcasm, no showing of the teeth. I had not listened to him long, on the occasion to which I refer, before I perceived that there was a certain artistic ability in him as a public speaker, which his audience would least recognize when it was most employed. Early in the address some adverse allusion to slavery brought a surge of hisses, but when it broke at his feet, there was the play of a faint smile on his face as he gathered from it the important knowledge of the exact proportion of Kentucky which he had to deal with on the occasion. I have often wondered that Mr. Lincoln's power as an orator—surpassed as it is by that of only one other American—is so little known or thought of in Europe; and I have even found the impression that he was, as a speaker, awkward, heavy and ungrammatical. It is a singular misjudgment. For terse, well-pronounced, clear speech; for a careful and easy selection of the fit word for the right place; for perfect tones; for quiet, chaste, and dignified manner—it would be hard to find the late President's superior. In those days it was, when slavery was concerned, 'a kind of good deed to say well,' and sufficiently proved the man who, when the public meeting must give way to the camp,

> 'With his deed did crown,
> His word upon you.'

"He had said, with an emphasis which made the proposition seem novel, 'Slavery is WRONG!'—then came the hiss. After a moment's pause he continued—each word driven through and clenched—'I acknowledge that you must maintain your opposition just there, if at all. But I find that every man comes into the world with a mouth to be fed, and a back to be clothed; that each has also two hands; and I infer that those hands were meant to feed that mouth and to clothe that back. And I warn you, Kentuckians, that whatever institution would fetter those hands from so doing, violates that justice which is the only political wisdom, and is sure to crumble around those who seek to uphold it. This is the constant testimony of the men who founded this Republic. It was this that made Jefferson tremble for his country, when he remembered that God is just; and this that made your own great statesman, Henry Clay, pray that his tongue might cleave to the roof of his mouth ere it voted to carry slavery into any Territory where it did not exist. Your hisses will not blow down the walls of Justice. Slavery is wrong. The denial of that truth has brought on the angry conflict of brother with brother; it has kindled the fires of civil war in Kansas; it has raised the portents that overhang the future of our nation. And be you sure, that no compromise, no political arrangement with slavery, will ever last, which does not deal with it as A GREAT WRONG.' The Kentuckians had no sibilant arguments to bring forward now. How much more serious Mr. Lincoln was than the mass of his party in these views, may be estimated by the fact, that when his speeches, with those of Judge Douglas, were afterwards collected for circulation as a campaign document, it was thought prudent to omit the above passage, which I noted down at the time, and probably others of similar import."

In the spring of 1860, Mr. Lincoln yielded to the calls which came to him from the East, for his presence and aid in the exciting political canvasses there going

on. He spoke at various places in Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, and also in New York city, to very large audiences, and was everywhere warmly welcomed. Perhaps one of the greatest speeches of his life, was that delivered by him at the Cooper Institute, in New York, on the 27th of February, 1860. A crowded audience was present, which received Mr. Lincoln with enthusiastic demonstrations. William Cullen Bryant presided, and introduced the speaker in terms of high compliment to the West, and to the "eminent citizen" of that section, whose political labors in 1856 and '58 were appropriately eulogized.

THE COOPER INSTITUTE SPEECH.

"MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK:—The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there any thing new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation.

"In his speech last autumn, at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in *The New York Times*, Senator Douglas said:

"'Our fathers, when they framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better than we do now.'

"I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and agreed starting point for the discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry: 'What was the understanding those fathers had of the questions mentioned?'

"What is the frame of Government under which we live?

"The answer must be: 'The Constitution of the United

States.' That Constitution consists of the original, framed in 1787 (and under which the present Government first went into operation), and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

"Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the 'thirty-nine' who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present Government. It is almost exactly true to say they framed it, and it is altogether true to say they fairly represented the opinion and sentiment of the whole nation at that time. Their names being familiar to nearly all, and accessible to quite all, need not now be repeated.

"I take these 'thirty-nine,' for the present, as being 'our fathers who framed the Government under which we live.'

"What is the question which, according to the text, those fathers understood just as well, and even better than we do now?

"It is this: Does the proper division of local from Federal authority, or any thing in the Constitution, forbid our Federal Government control as to slavery in our Federal Territories?

"Upon this, Douglas holds the affirmative, and Republicans the negative. The affirmative and denial form an issue; and this issue—this question—is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood better than we

"Let us now inquire whether the 'thirty-nine,' or any of them, ever acted upon this question; and if they did, how they acted upon it—how they expressed that better understanding.

"In 1784—three years before the Constitution—the United States then owning the Northwestern Territory, and no other—the Congress of the Confederation had before them the question of prohibiting slavery in that Territory; and four of the 'thirty-nine' who afterward framed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on that question. Of these, Roger Sherman, Thomas Mifflin, and Hugh Williamson voted for the prohibition—thus showing that, in their understanding, no line

dividing local from federal authority, nor any thing else, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in federal territory. The other of the four—James McHenry—voted against the prohibition, showing that, for some cause, he thought it improper to vote for it.

"In 1787, still before the Constitution, but while the Convention was in session framing it, and while the Northwestern Territory still was the only Territory owned by the United States—the same question of prohibiting slavery in the Territory again came before the Congress of the Confederation; and three more of the 'thirty-nine' who afterward signed the Constitution, were in that Congress, and voted on the question. They were William Blount, William Few, and Abraham Baldwin; and they all voted for the prohibition—thus showing that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor any thing else, properly forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory. This time the prohibition became a law, being part of what is now well known as the Ordinance of '87.

"The question of federal control of slavery in the Territories, seems not to have been directly before the Convention which framed the original Constitution; and hence it is not recorded that the 'thirty-nine,' or any of them, while engaged on that instrument, expressed any opinion on that precise question.

"In 1789, by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution, an act was passed to enforce the Ordinance of '87 including the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. The bill for this act was reported by one of the 'thirty-nine,' Thomas Fitzsimmons, then a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. It went through all its stages without a word of opposition, and finally passed both branches without yeas and nays, which is equivalent to an unanimous passage. In this Congress there were sixteen of the 'thirty-nine' fathers who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman, Wm. S. Johnson,

Roger Sherman, Robert Morris, Thos. Fitzsimmons, William Few, Abraham Baldwin, Rufus King, William Patterson, George Clymer, Richard Bassett, George Read, Pierce Butler, Daniel Carrol, James Madison.

"This shows that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor any thing in the Constitution, properly forbade Congress to prohibit slavery in the Federal territory; else both their fidelity to correct principle, and their oath to support the Constitution, would have constrained them to oppose the prohibition.

"Again, George Washington, another of the 'thirty-nine,' was then President of the United States, and, as such, approved and signed the bill, thus completing its validity as a law, and thus showing that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor any thing in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory.

"No great while after the adoption of the original Constitution, North Carolina ceded to the Federal Government the country now constituting the State of Tennessee; and a few years later Georgia ceded that which now constitutes the States of Mississippi and Alabama. In both deeds of cession it was made a condition by the ceding States that the Federal Government should not prohibit slavery in the ceded country. Besides this, slavery was then actually in the ceded country. Under these circumstances, Congress, on taking charge of these countries did not absolutely prohibit slavery within them. But they did interfere with it—take control of it—even there, to a certain extent. In 1798, Congress organized the Territory of Mississippi. In the act of organization they prohibited the bringing of slaves into the Territory, from any place without the United States, by fine and giving freedom to slaves so brought. This act passed both branches of Congress without yeas and nays. In that Congress were three of the 'thirty-nine' who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon,

George Read, and Abraham Baldwin. They all, probably, voted for it. Certainly they would have placed their opposition to it upon record, if, in their understanding, any line dividing local from Federal authority, or any thing in the Constitution, probable forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory.

"In 1803, the Federal Government purchased the Louisiana country. Our former territorial acquisitions came from certain of our own States; but this Louisiana country was acquired from a foreign nation. In 1804, Congress gave a territorial organization to that part of it which now constitutes the State of Louisiana. New Orleans, lying within that part, was an old and comparatively large city. There were other considerable towns and settlements, and slavery was extensively and thoroughly intermingled with the people. Congress did not, in the Territorial Act, prohibit slavery; but they did interfere with it—take control of it—in a more marked and extensive way than they did in the case of Mississippi. The substance of the provision therein made, in relation to slaves, was:

"*First.* That no slave should be imported into the Territory from foreign parts.

"*Second.* That no slave should be carried into it who had been imported into the United States since the first day of May, 1798.

"*Third.* That no slave should be carried into it, except by the owner, and for his own use as a settler; the penalty in all the cases being a fine upon the violator of the law, and freedom to the slave.

"This act also was passed without yeas and nays. In the Congress which passed it, there were two of the 'thirty-nine.' They were Abraham Baldwin and Jonathan Dayton. As stated in the case of Mississippi, it is probable they both voted for it. They would not have allowed it to pass without recording their opposition to it, if, in their understanding, it

violated either the line proper dividing local from Federal authority or any provision of the Constitution.

"In 1819–20, came and passed the Missouri question. Many votes were taken, by yeas and nays, in both branches of Congress, upon the various phases of the general question. Two of the 'thirty-nine'—Rufus King and Charles Pinckney—were members of that Congress. Mr. King steadily voted for slavery prohibition and against all compromises, while Mr. Pinckney as steadily voted against slavery prohibition and against all compromises. By this Mr. King showed that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor any thing in the Constitution, was violated by Congress prohibiting slavery in Federal territory; while Mr. Pinckney, by his votes, showed that in his understanding there was some sufficient reason for opposing such prohibition in that case.

"The cases I have mentioned are the only acts of the 'thirty-nine,' or of any of them, upon the direct issue, which I have been able to discover.

"To enumerate the persons who thus acted, as being four in 1784, three in 1787, seventeen in 1789, three in 1798, two in 1804, and two in 1819–20—there would be thirty-one of them. But this would be counting John Langdon, Roger Sherman, William Few, Rufus King, and George Read, each twice, and Abraham Baldwin four times. The true number of those of the 'thirty-nine whom I have shown to have acted upon the question, which, by the text they understood better than we, is twenty-three, leaving sixteen not shown to have acted upon it in any way.

"Here, then, we have twenty-three out of our 'thirty-nine' fathers who framed the government under which we live, who have, upon their official responsibility and their corporal oaths, acted upon the very question which the text affirms they 'understood just as well, and even better than we do now;' and twenty-one of them—a clear majority of the 'thirty-nine' —so acting upon it as to make them guilty of gross political

impropriety, and wilful perjury, if, in their understanding, any proper division between local and Federal authority, or any thing in the Constitution they had made themselves, and sworn to support, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. Thus the twenty-one acted; and, as actions speak louder than words, so actions under such responsibility speak still louder.

"Two of the twenty-three voted against Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Federal Territories, in the instances in which they acted upon the question. But for what reasons they so voted is not known. They may have done so because they thought a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some provision or principle of the Constitution, stood in the way; or they may, without any such question, have voted against the prohibition, on what appeared to them to be sufficient grounds of expediency. No one who has sworn to support the Constitution, can conscientiously vote for what he understands to be an unconstitutional measure, however expedient he may think it; but one may and ought to vote against a measure which he deems constitutional, if, at the same time, he deems it inexpedient. It, therefore, would be unsafe to set down even the two who voted against the prohibition, as having done so because, in their understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any thing in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Goverment to control as to slavery in Federal territory.

"The remaining sixteen of the 'thirty-nine,' so far as I have discovered, have left no record of their understanding upon the direct question of Federal control of slavery in the Federal territory. But there is much reason to believe that their understanding upon that question would not have appeared different from that of their twenty-three compeers, had it been manifested at all.

"For the purpose of adhering rigidly to the text, I have purposely admitted whatever understanding may have been

manifested, by any person, however distinguished, other than the 'thirty-nine' fathers who framed the original Constitution; and, for the same reason, I have also omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any of the 'thirty-nine' even, on any other phase of the general question of slavery. If we should look into their acts and declarations on those other phases, as the foreign slave-trade, and the morality and policy of slavery generally, it would appear to us that on the direct question of Federal control of slavery in Federal Territories, the sixteen, if they had acted at all, would probably have acted just as the twenty-three did. Among that sixteen were several of the most noted anti-slavery men of those times —as Dr. Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and Gouverneur Morris —while there was not one now known to have been otherwise, unless it may be John Rutledge, of South Carolina.

"The sum of the whole is, that of our 'thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution, twenty-one—a clear majority of the whole—certainly understood that no proper division of local from Federal authority nor any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories, while all the rest probably had the same understanding. Such, unquestionably, was the understanding of our fathers who framed the original Constitution; and the text affirms that they understood the question better than we.

"But, so far, I have been considering the understanding of the question manifested by the framers of the original Constitution. In and by the original instrument, a mode was provided for amending it; and, as I have already stated, the present frame of government under which we live consists of that original, and twelve amendatory articles framed and adopted since. Those who now insist that Federal control of slavery in Federal Territories violates the Constitution, point us to the provisions which they suppose it thus violates; and, as I understand, they all fix upon provisions in these amenda-

tory articles, and not in the original instrument. The Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, plant themselves upon the fifth amendment, which provides that 'no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law;' while Senator Douglas and his peculiar adherents plant themselves upon the tenth amendment, providing that 'the powers not granted by the Constitution are reserved to the States respectively, and to the people.'

"Now, it so happens that these amendments were framed by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution—the identical Congress which passed the act already mentioned, enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. Not only was it the same Congress, but they were the identical, same individual men who, at the same session, and at the same time within the session, had under consideration, and in progress toward maturity, these constitutional amendments, and this act prohibiting slavery in all the territory the nation then owned. The Constitutional amendments were introduced before, and passed after the act enforcing the Ordinance of '87; so that during the whole pendency of the act to enforce the Ordinance, the constitutional amendments were also pending.

"That Congress, consisting in all of seventy-six members, including sixteen of the framers of the original Constitution, as before stated, were pre-eminently our fathers who framed that part of the government under which we live, which is now claimed as forbidding the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal Territories.

"Is it not a little presumptuous in any one at this day to affirm that the two things which that Congress deliberately framed, and carried to maturity at the same time, are absolutely inconsistent with each other? And does not such affirmation become impudently absurd when coupled with the other affirmation, from the same mouth, that those who did the two things alleged to be inconsistent understood whether they

really were inconsistent better than we—better than he who affirms that they are inconsistent?

"It is surely safe to assume that the 'thirty-nine' framers of the original Constitution, and the seventy-six members of the Congress which framed the amendments thereto, taken together, do certainly include those who may be fairly called our fathers who framed the government under which we live.' And so assuming, I defy any man to show that any one of them ever, in his whole life, declared that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. I go a step further. I defy any one to show that any living man in the whole world ever did, prior to the beginning of the present century (and I might almost say prior to the beginning of the last half of the present century), declare that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. To those who now so declare, I give, not only 'our fathers who framed the government under which we live,' but with them all other living men within the century in which it was framed, among whom to search, and they shall not be able to find the evidence of a single man agreeing with them.

"Now, and here, let me guard a little against being misunderstood. I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so, would be to discard all the lights of current experience—to reject all progress—all improvement. What I do say is, that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we.

"If any man, at this day, sincerely believes that a proper

division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so, and to enforce his position by all truthful evidence and fair argument which he can. But he has no right to mislead others, who have less access to history and less leisure to study it, into the false belief that 'our fathers, who framed the government under which we live,' were of the same opinion—thus substituting falsehood and deception for truthful evidence and fair argument. If any man, at this day, sincerely believes 'our fathers, who framed the government under which we live,' used and applied principles, in other cases, which ought to have led them to understand that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories, he is right to say so. But he should, at the same time, brave the responsibility of declaring that, in his opinion, he understands their principles better than they did themselves; and especially should he not shirk that responsibility by asserting that they 'understood the question just as well, and even better than we do now.'

"But enough. Let all who believe that 'our fathers, who framed the government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better than we do now,' speak as they spoke, and act as they acted upon it. This is all Republicans ask, all Republicans desire, in relation to slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. Let all the guarantees those fathers gave it, be, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly maintained. For this Republicans contend, and with this, so far as I know or believe, they will be content.

"And now, if they would listen—as I suppose they will not—I would address a few words to the Southern people.

"I would say to them: You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people; and I consider that, in the general qualities of reason and justice, you are not inferior to any other people. Still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at the best, as no better than outlaws. You will grant a hearing to pirates or murderers, but nothing like it to 'Black Republicans.' In all your contentions with one another, each of you deems an unconditional condemnation of 'Black Republicanism' as the first thing to be attended to. Indeed, such condemnation of us seems to be an indispensable prerequisite—license, so to speak—among you to be admitted or permitted to speak at all

"Now can you, or not, be prevailed upon to pause and to consider whether this is quite just to us, or even to yourselves?

"Bring forward your charges and specifications, and then be patient long enough to hear us deny or justify

"You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it? Why, that our party has no existence in your section—gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue? If it does, then, in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet, are you willing to abide by it? If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. The fact that we get no votes in your section, is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; but this brings us to where you

ought to have started—to the discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section for the benefit of ours, or for any other object, then our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section; and so meet it as if it were possible that something may be said on our side. Do you accept the challenge? No? Then you really believe that the principle which our fathers, who framed the government under which we live, thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and indorse it again and again upon their official oaths, is, in fact, so clearly wrong as to demand your condemnation without a moment's consideration.

"Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory, which act embodied the policy of the government upon that subject, up to and at the very moment he penned that warning; and about one year after he penned it he wrote Lafayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing, in the same connection, his hope that we should some time have a confederacy of free States.

"Bearing this in mind, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen upon this same subject, is that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in our hands against you? Could Washington himself speak, would he cast the blame of that sectionalism upon us, who sustain his policy, or upon you, who repudiate it? We respect that warning of Washington, and we commend it to you, together with his example pointing to the right application of it.

"But you say you are conservative—eminently conserva-

tive—while we are revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort. What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried against the new and untried? We stick to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in controversy which was adopted by our fathers who framed the government under which we live; while you, with one accord, reject, and scout, and spit upon that old policy, and insist upon substituting something new. True, you disagree among yourselves as to what that substitute shall be. You have considerable variety of new propositions and plans, but you are unanimous in rejecting and denouncing the old policy of the fathers. Some of you are for reviving the foreign slave trade; some for a Congressional slave code for the Territories; some for Congress forbidding the Territories to prohibit slavery within their limits; some for maintaining slavery in the Territories through the Judiciary; some for the 'gur-reat pur-rinciple' that, 'if one man would enslave another, no third man should object,' fantastically called 'Popular Sovereignty;' but never a man among you in favor of Federal prohibition of slavery in Federal Territories, according to the practice of our fathers who framed the government under which we live. Not one of all your various plans can show a precedent or an advocate in the century within which our government originated. Consider, then, whether your claim of conservatism for yourselves, and your charge of destructiveness against us, are based on the most clear and stable foundations.

"Again you say we have made the slavery question more prominent than it formerly was. We deny it. We admit that it is more prominent, but we deny that we made it so. It was not we, but you, who discarded the old policy of the fathers. We resisted, and still resist, your innovation; and thence comes the greater prominence of the question. Would you have that question reduced to its former proportions? Go back to that old policy. What has been will be again, under

the same conditions. If you would have the peace of the old times, re-adopt the precepts and policy of the old times.

"You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it. And what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it, or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable to not designate the man, and prove the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable to assert it and especially to persist in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true is simply malicious slander.

"Some of you admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harper's Ferry affair; but still insist that our doctrines and declarations necessarily lead to such results. We do not believe it. We know we hold to no doctrine, and make no declarations which were not held to and made by our fathers who framed the government under which we live. You never deal fairly by us in relation to this affair. When it occurred, some important State elections were near at hand, and you were in evident glee with the belief that, by charging the blame upon us, you could get an advantage of us in those elections. The elections came and your expectations were not quite fulfilled. Every Republican man knew that, as to himself, at least, your charge was a slander, and he was not much inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor. Republican doctrines and declarations are accompanied with a continual protest against any interference whatever with your slaves, or with you about your slaves. Surely, this does not encourage them to revolt. True, we do, in common with our fathers who framed the government under which we live, declare our belief that slavery is wrong; but the slaves do not hear us declare even this. For any thing we say or do, the slaves

would scarcely know there is a Republican party. I believe they would not, in fact, generally know it but for your misrepresentation of us in their hearing. In your political contests among yourselves, each faction charges the other with sympathy with Black Republicanism; and then, to give point to the charge, defines Black Republicanism to simply be insurrection, blood and thunder among the slaves.

"Slave insurrections are no more common now than they were before the Republican party was organized. What induced the Southampton insurrection, twenty-eight years ago, in which at least three times as many lives were lost as at Harper's Ferry! You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the conclusion that Southampton was got up by Black Republicanism. In the present state of things in the United States, I do not think a general, or even a very extensive slave insurrection, is possible. The indispensable concert of action cannot be attained. The slaves have no means of rapid communication; nor can incendiary free men, black or white, supply it. The explosive materials are everywhere in parcels; but there neither are, nor can be supplied, the indispensable connecting trains.

"Much is said by southern people about the affection of slaves for their masters and mistresses; and a part of it, at least, is true. A plot for an uprising could scarcely be devised and communicated to twenty individuals before some one of them, to save the life of a favorite master or mistress, would divulge it. This is the rule; and the slave revolution in Hayti was not an exception to it, but a case occurring under peculiar circumstances. The gunpowder-plot of British history, though not connected with the slaves, was more in point. In that case, only about twenty were admitted to the secret; and yet one of them, in his anxiety to save a friend, betrayed the plot to that friend, and, by consequence, averted the calamity. Occasional poisonings from the kitchen, and open or stealthy assassinations in the field, and local revolts extending to a

score or so, will continue to occur as the natural results of slavery; but no general insurrection of slaves, as I think, can happen in this country for a long time. Whoever much fears, or much hopes, for such an event, will be alike disappointed.

"In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, 'It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation, and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degrees, as that the evil will wear off insensibly; and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up.'

"Mr. Jefferson did not mean to say, nor do I, that the power of emancipation is in the Federal Government. He spoke of Virginia; and, as to the power of emancipation, I speak of the slaveholding States only.

"The Federal Government, however, as we insist, has the power of restraining the extension of the institution—the power to insure that a slave insurrection shall never occur on any American soil which is now free from slavery.

"John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon, and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on old England in the one case, and on New England in the other does not disprove the sameness of the two things.

"And how much would it avail you, if you could, by the use of John Brown, Helper's book, and the like, break up the Republican organization? Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed. There is a judgment and a feeling against slavery in this nation, which cast at least a million and a-half of votes. You cannot destroy that judgment and feeling—that sentiment—by breaking up the political organization which rallies around it. You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire; but if you could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballot-box, into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation.

"But you will break up the Union rather than submit to a denial of your Constitutional rights.

"That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing, by the mere force of numbers, to deprive you of some right plainly written down in the Constitution. But we are proposing no such thing.

"When you make these declarations, you have a specific and well-understood allusion to an assumed constitutional right of yours, to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and hold them there as property. But no such right is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

"Your purpose, then, plainly stated, is, that you will destroy the Government, unless you be allowed to construe and enforce the Constitution as you please, on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

"This, plainly stated, is your language to us. Perhaps you

will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed constitutional question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyer's distinction between dictum and decision, the courts have decided the question for you in a sort of way. The courts have substantially said, it is your constitutional right to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property,

"When I say the decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided court by a bare majority of the judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons for making it; that it is so made as that its avowed supporters disagree with one another about its meaning, and that it was mainly based upon a mistaken statement of fact—the statement in the opinion that 'the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution.'

"An inspection of the Constitution will show that the right of property in a slave is not distinctly and expressly affirmed in it. Bear in mind the Judges do not pledge their judicial opinion that such right is impliedly affirmed in the Constitution; but they pledge their veracity that it is distinctly and expressly affirmed there—'distinctly' that is, not mingled with any thing else—'expressly' that is, in words meaning just that, without the aid of any inference, and susceptible of no other meaning.

"If they had only pledged their judicial opinion that such right is affirmed in the instrument by implication, it would be open to others to show that neither the word 'slave' nor 'slavery' is to be found in the Constitution, nor the word 'property' even, in any connection with language alluding to the things slave, or slavery, and that wherever in that instrument the slave is alluded to, he is called a 'person;' and wherever his master's legal right in relation to him is alluded to, it is spoken of as 'service or labor due,' as a 'debt' payable in service or labor. Also, it would be open to show, by contemporaneous history, that this mode of alluding to slaves and slavery, instead of speaking of them, was employed on purpose to ex-

clude from the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.

"To show all this is easy and certain.

"When this obvious mistake of the Judges shall be brought to their notice, is it not reasonable to expect that they will withdraw the mistaken statement, and reconsider the conclusion based upon it?

"And then it is to be remembered that 'our fathers, who framed the government under which we live'—the men who made the Constitution—decided this same constitutional question in our favor, long ago—decided it without a division among themselves, when making the decision; without division among themselves about the meaning of it after it was made, and so far as any evidence is left, without basing it upon any mistaken statement of facts.

"Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this government, unless such a court decision as yours is, shall be at once submitted to, as a conclusive and final rule of political action.

"But you will not abide the election of a Republican President. In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us!

"That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth, 'Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!'

"To be sure, what the robber demanded of me—my money—was my own; and I had a clear right to keep it; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own; and threat of death to me, to extort my money, and threat of destruction to the Union, to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

"A few words now to Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony, one with another. Let us Republicans do our

part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill temper. Even though the southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them?

"Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections? We know it will not. We so know because we know we never had any thing to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

"The question recurs, what will satisfy them? Simply this: We must not only let them alone, but we must, somehow, convince them that we do let them alone. This, we know by experience, is no easy task. We have been so trying to convince them from the very beginning of our organization, but with no success. In all our platforms and speeches we have constantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but this has had no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

"These natural, and apparently adequate means all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only: cease to call slavery *wrong*, and join them in calling it *right*. And this must be done thoroughly—done in *acts* as well as in *words*. Silence will not be tolerated—we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with

greedy pleasure. We must pull down our Free-State Constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us.

"I am quite aware they do not state their case precisely in this way. Most of them would probably say to us, 'Let us alone, do nothing to us, and say what you please about slavery.' But we do let them alone—have never disturbed them—so that, after all, it is what we say, which dissatisfies them. They will continue to accuse us of doing, until we cease saying.

"I am also aware they have not, as yet, in terms demanded the overthrow of our Free-State Constitutions. Yet those Constitutions declare the wrong of slavery, with more solemn emphasis, than do all other sayings against it; and when all these other sayings shall have been silenced, the overthrow of these Constitutions will be demanded, and nothing be left to resist the demand. It is nothing to the contrary, that they do not demand the whole of this just now. Demanding what they do, and for the reason they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding, as they do, that slavery is morally right, and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it, as a legal right, and a social blessing.

"Nor can we justifiably withhold this, on any ground save our conviction that slavery is wrong. If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it, are themselves wrong, and should be silenced, and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality—its universality; if i is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension—its enlargement. All they ask, we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask, they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right, and our thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are

not to blame for desiring its full recognition, as being right; but, thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this?

"Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States?

"If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearless and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man—such a policy of 'don't care' on a question about which all true men do care—such as Union appeals, beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the Divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance—such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did.

"*Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, not frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty, as we understand it.*"

This, the last of the great speeches of Mr. Lincoln, of which there is any complete report, is believed to have contributed, more than any thing else, to Mr. Lincoln's success in the East, during the ensuing Presidential campaign. It forms a brilliant close to this

period of his life, and a fitting prelude to that on which he was about to enter.

It was during this visit to New York that the following incident occurred, as related by a teacher in the Five-Points House of Industry, in that city:

"Our Sunday-school in the Five-Points was assembled, one Sabbath morning, a few months since, when I noticed a tall, and remarkable-looking man enter the room and take a seat among us. He listened with fixed attention to our exercises, and his countenance manifested such genuine interest, that I approached him and suggested that he might be willing to say something to the children. He accepted the invitation with evident pleasure, and coming forward began a simple address, which at once fascinated every little hearer, and hushed the room into silence. His language was strikingly beautiful, and his tones musical with intensest feeling. The little faces around would droop into sad conviction as he uttered sentences of warning, and would brighten into sunshine as he spoke cheerful words of promise. Once or twice he attempted to close his remarks, but the imperative shout of 'Go on!' 'Oh, do go on!' would compel him to resume. As I looked upon the gaunt and sinewy frame of the stranger, and marked his powerful head and determined features, now touched into softness by the impressions of the moment, I felt an irrepressible curiosity to learn something more about him, and when he was quietly leaving the room, I begged to know his name. He courteously replied, 'It is Abra'm Lincoln, from Illinois!'"

CHAPTER VI.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S NOMINATION AND ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

His nomination by the Republican National Convention.—Exciting Scenes.—How he received the News.—Its Official Announcement to him.—His Letter of Acceptance.—The composition of the Parties, and the Canvass of 1860.—He is elected President of the United States.—Campaign Song, "Abe of the West."

On the 16th of May, 1860, the Republican National Convention assembled at Chicago, in an immense building erected for the purpose, and called "The Wigwam." There were four hundred and sixty-five delegates, and the city was filled to overflowing with earnest men, who had come there to press the claims of their favorite candidates; while the halls and corridors of the hotels swarmed and buzzed with an eager crowd. Excitement was on every face, politics on every tongue.

Long before the hour for opening, the concourse of people assembled around the doors numbered many thousands more than could gain admittance to the building. As soon as the doors were opened the entire body of the Wigwam was solidly packed with men, and the seats in the galleries were equally closely packed with ladies. The interior of the hall being handsomely decorated with evergreens, statuary, and flowers, presented a striking appearance. There were

not less than ten thousand persons in the building, while vast throngs blocked the entrance, and filled the grounds around, unable to obtain admission.

The opening day, (the 16th,) was taken up with the organization of the Convention, the Hon. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, being appointed President; and vice-presidents and secretaries being selected from every State represented in the Convention. The next day, (the 17th,) the Convention again assembled at ten o'clock, and, upon the adoption of rules, it was agreed that a *majority* should nominate the candidates.

The committee on resolutions then reported the following platform, which was adopted with enthusiasm, the immense multitude of spectators rising to their feet, with cheer upon cheer of applause.

THE PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

"*Resolved,* That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States in Convention assembled, in the discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations.

"*First.*—That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

"*Second.*—That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved; and that we reassert 'these truths to be

self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.'

"*Third.*—That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members of Congress without rebuke, and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke and forever silence.

"*Fourth.*—That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political faith depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

"*Fifth.*—That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as is especially evident in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas—in construing the personal relation between master and servant

to involve an unqualified property in persons—in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

"*Sixth.*—That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the system of plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

"*Seventh.*—That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with cotemporaneous expositions and with legislative and judicial precedent, is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

"*Eighth.*—That the normal condition of all the territories of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without the process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

"*Ninth.*—That we brand the recent re-opening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, a burning shame to our country and age; and we

call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

"*Tenth.*—That in the recent vetoes by their Federal governors, of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and a denunciation of the deception and fraud involved therein.

"*Eleventh.*—That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State, under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the House of Representatives.

"*Twelfth.*—That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imposts, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country, and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working man liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

"*Thirteenth.*—That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

"*Fourteenth.*—That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights

of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

"*Fifteenth.*—That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by an obligation of the government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

"*Sixteenth.*—That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

"*Seventeenth.*—Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support."

"A scene of the wildest excitement," says a spectator, "followed the adoption of this platform, the immense multitude rising and giving round after round of applause; ten thousand voices swelled into a roar so deafening that, for several minutes, every attempt to restore order was hopelessly vain. The multitude outside took up and re-echoed the cheers, making the scene of enthusiasm and excitement unparalleled in any similar gathering."

All this was flashed by telegraph, through the length and breadth of the whole Union, and on the morrow, (the 18th,) the people all over the land stood breathless and expectant, watching for the "coming man." The wigwam was closely packed for a full hour before the Convention assembled, and the excitement became intense as the time for balloting ap-

proached. The Illinoisans had turned out in great numbers, zealous for Lincoln, and though the other States, near and far, had sent many men who were equally zealous for Mr. Seward, it was quite clear that Mr. Lincoln's supporters were in the majority in the audience. A crowd, numbering its thousands, had been outside the building since nine o'clock, anxiously awaiting intelligence from the inside. Arrangements had been made for passing the result of the ballots up from the platform to the roof of the building, and through the skylight, men being stationed above to convey speedily the intelligence to the multitude in the streets.

A large procession, formed by the various delegations, marched to the hall, preceded by bands of music, and as it appeared upon the platform the several distinguished men were greeted with rounds of applause by the audience.

The Convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President of the United States. Seven names were formally presented in the following order:

William H. Seward, of New York; Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois; William L. Dayton, of New Jersey; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio; Edward Bates, of Missouri; and John McLean, of Ohio.

The first two of these names, in particular, were greeted with loud and long-continued applause, and it soon become apparent that the chief contest was to be between the experienced and polished statesman of New York, and the homely, clear-headed pioneer of the west.

The first ballot gave Mr. Seward one hundred and

seventy-three and one-half votes to one hundred and two for Mr. Lincoln, the rest being scattered. On the second ballot the first indication of the result was felt, when the chairman of the Vermont delegation, which had been divided on the previous ballot, announced when the name of that State was called, that "Vermont casts her ten votes for the young giant of the west, Abraham Lincoln." On the second ballot, Mr. Seward had one hundred and eighty-four and one-half to one hundred and eighty-one for Mr. Lincoln, and on the third ballot Mr. Lincoln received two hundred and thirty votes, being within one and one-half of a majority. The vote was not announced, but so many everywhere had kept the count that it was known throughout the Convention at once. Mr. Carlin, of Ohio, rose and announced a change in the vote of the Ohio delegation of four votes in favor of Mr. Lincoln, whereupon the Convention boiled over into a state of the wildest excitement.

Mr. Andrews, of Massachusetts, then rose and corrected the vote of Massachusetts, by changing four votes, and giving them to Lincoln, thus nominating him by two and a half majority.

The Convention hereupon became still more wildly excited.

A large portion of the delegates, who had kept tally, at once said the struggle was decided, and half the Convention rose, cheering, shouting, and waving hats. The cheers of the audience within were answered by those of a yet larger crowd without, to whom the result was announced. Cannon roared, bands played, banners waved, and the excited Republicans of Chicago cheered

themselves hoarse. It was long before the Convention could calm itself enough to proceed to business.

Then, as the choice became certain, State after State struggled to be next in succession to change votes for Lincoln. The whole number of votes cast at the next ballot was four hundred and sixty-six, of which two hundred and thirty-four were necessary to a choice. *Three hundred and fifty-four* were cast for Abraham Lincoln, who was, thereupon, declared duly nominated.

When the loud applause with which the nomination was greeted had somewhat subsided, Mr. William Evarts, of New York city, came forward and moved that the nomination be made unanimous. The motion was seconded by Mr. Andrews, of Massachusetts; and the nomination was, accordingly, concurred in with unanimity.

The excitement, consequent upon the nomination, spread from the Convention to the audience within the building, and from them, like wildfire, to the crowds without, to whom the result had been announced. At the close of Mr. Evarts' remarks, a life-size portrait of Mr. Lincoln had been displayed from the platform, which was greeted with bursts of uncontrollable applause. The building shook with the shouts of the delighted thousands beneath its roof, and, with cheer upon cheer, the multitude in the streets caught up the glad acclaim; while, amid the boom of artillery salutes, the undulation of banners, and the joyful strains of music, the intelligence of the people's choice flashed over the wires from Maine to Kansas, and from the Lakes to the Gulf.

The Convention completed their work the same after-

noon, by the nomination of the Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice President.

A pleasant anecdote is related of the manner in which Mr. Lincoln received his nomination.

"He was at Springfield during the sitting of the Convention: and, having left the telegraphic office after learning the result of the first two ballots, was quietly conversing with some friends in the office of the *State Journal*, while the casting of the third ballot was in progress. In a little time, the result was received at the telegraph office. The superintendent, who was present, hastily wrote upon a scrap of paper: 'Mr. Lincoln, you are nominated on the third ballot;' which he immediately sent, by a boy, to Mr. Lincoln. A shout of applause greeted the message throughout the office of the *Journal*, but Mr. Lincoln received it in silence. Then he put the paper in his pocket, arose, and said quietly, before he left the room: 'There is a little woman down at our house would like to hear this I'll go down and tell her.' This was his excuse for retiring to the privacy of his own room, where he might commune with himself alone."

The committee appointed by the National Convention to wait upon Mr. Lincoln, and inform him of his nomination, immediately performed their duty. A correspondent of the Chicago *Journal* gives the subjoined graphic account of the visit of the committee:

"The excursion train bearing the committee appointed by the National Convention at Chicago to wait on Mr. Lincoln and notify him of his nomination, consisting of the President of the Convention, the Hon. Geo. Ashmun of Massachusetts, and the chairmen of the different State delegations, arrived at Springfield, Friday evening, at seven o'clock.

"A great crowd was awaiting them at the depot, and greeted their coming with enthusiastic shouts. From the depot they marched to the hotel, accompanied by the crowd, and two or three bands discoursing stirring music. The appearance and names of the more distinguished delegates were received with vociferous applause, especially the venerable and famous Francis P. Blair of Maryland, the Hon. E. D. Morgan, Governor of New York, and Governor Boutwell of Massachusetts.

"When they arrived at the hotel, the crowd, still increasing, deployed off to the State House square, to give vent to their enthusiasm in almost continual cheers, and listen to fervent speeches.

"Having partaken of a bountiful supper, the delegates proceeded quietly, by such streets as would escape the crowd, to the residence of Mr. Lincoln. Quite a number of outsiders were along, among whom were half a dozen editors, including the Hon. Henry J. Raymond, of *The New York Times.*

"Among the delegates composing the committee were many of the most distinguished men in that great Convention, such as Mr. Evarts, of New York, the accomplished and eloquent spokesman of the delegation from the Empire State, and friend of Mr. Seward; Judge Kelley of Pennsylvania, whose tall form and sonorous eloquence excited so much attention; Mr. Andrews of Massachusetts, the round-faced, handsome man, who made such a beautiful and telling speech on behalf of the old Bay State, in seconding the motion to make Lincoln's nomination unanimous; Mr. Simmons, the gray-headed United States Senator from Rhode Island; Mr. Ashmun, the President of the Convention, so long the bosom friend and ardent admirer of Daniel Webster, and the leader of the Massachusetts Whigs; the veteran Blair, and his gallant sons, Frank P. and Montgomery; brave old Blakie, of Kentucky; Gallagher, the literary man of Ohio; burly, loud-voiced Carter of Ohio, who announced the four votes that gave Lincoln the nomination, and others that I have not time to mention.

"In a few minutes (it now being about 8 P. M.), they were at Lincoln's house—an elegant two-story dwelling, fronting west, of pleasing exterior, with a neat and roomy appearance, situated in the quiet part of the town, surrounded with shrubbery. As they were passing in at the gate and up the steps, two handsome lads of eight or ten years, met them with a courteous 'Good-evening, gentlemen.'

"'Are you Mr. Lincoln's son?' said Mr. Evarts of New York. 'Yes, sir,' said the boy. 'Then let's shake hands;' and they began greeting him so warmly as to excite the younger one's attention, who had stood silently by the opposite gatepost, and he sang out, 'I'm a Lincoln, too;' whereupon several delegates, amid much laughter, saluted the young Lincoln.

"Having all collected in the large north parlor, Mr. Ashmun addressed Mr. Lincoln, who stood at the east end of the room, as follows:

"'I have, sir, the honor, in behalf of the gentlemen who are present, a committee appointed by the Republican Convention, recently assembled at Chicago, to discharge a most pleasant duty. We have come, sir, under a vote of instructions to that committee, to notify you that you have been selected by the Convention of the Republicans at Chicago, for President of the United States. They instruct us, sir, to notify you of that selection, and that committee deem it not only respectful to yourself, but appropriate to the important matter which they have in hand, that they should come in person, and present to you the authentic evidence of the action of that Convention; and, sir, without any phrase which shall either be considered personally plauditory to yourself, or which shall have any reference to the principles involved in the questions which are connected with your nomination, I desire to present to you the letter which has been prepared, and which informs you of the nomination, and with it the platform, resolutions, and sentiments, which the Convention adopted. Sir, at your convenience,

we shall be glad to receive from you such a response as it may be your pleasure to give us.'

"Mr. Lincoln listened with a countenance grave and earnest, almost to sternness, regarding Mr. Ashmun with the profoundest attention, and at the conclusion of that gentleman's remarks, after an impressive pause, he replied in a clear but subdued voice, with that perfect enunciation, which always marks his utterance, and a dignified sincerity of manner suited to the man and the occasion, in the following words:

"'MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: I tender to you, and through you to the Republican National Convention, and all the people represented in it, my profoundest thanks for the high honor done me, which you now formally announce. Deeply, and even painfully sensible of the great responsibility which is inseparable from this high honor—a responsibility which I could almost wish had fallen upon some one of the far more eminent men and experienced statesmen whose distinguished names were before the Convention. I shall, by your leave, consider more fully the resolutions of the Convention, denominated the platform, and without unnecessary or unreasonable delay, respond to you, Mr. Chairman, in writing, not doubting that the platform will be found satisfactory, and the nomination gratefully accepted.

"'And now I will not longer defer the pleasure of taking you, and each of you, by the hand.'

"Mr. Ashmun then introduced the delegates personally to Mr. Lincoln, who shook them heartily by the hand. Governor Morgan, Mr. Blair, Senator Simmons, Mr. Welles, and Mr. Fogg of Connecticut, were first introduced; then came hearty old Mr. Blakie, of Kentucky, Lincoln's native State; and, of course, they had to compare notes, inquire up old neighbors, and, if the time had allowed, they would soon have started to tracing out the old pioneer families. Major Ben. Eggleston, of Cincinnati, was next, and his greeting and reception were equally

hearty. Tall Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, was then presented by Mr. Ashmun to Mr. Lincoln. As they shook hands, each eyed the other's ample proportions, with genuine admiration—Lincoln, for once, standing erect as an Indian during this evening, and showing his tall form in its full dignity.

"'What's your height?' inquired Lincoln.

"'Six feet three; what is yours, Mr. Lincoln?' said Judge Kelley, in his round, deliberate tone.

"'Six feet four,' replied Lincoln.

"'Then,' said Judge Kelley, 'Pennsylvania bows to Illinois. My dear man, for years my heart has been aching for a President that I could *look up to*, and I've found him at last, in the land where we thought there were none but *little* giants.'*

"Mr. Evarts, of New York, expressed very gracefully his gratification at meeting Mr. Lincoln, whom he had heard at Cooper Institute, but where, on account of the pressure and crowd, he had to go away without an introduction.

"Mr. Andrews, of Massachusetts, said, 'We claim you, Mr. Lincoln, as coming from Massachusetts, because all the old Lincoln name are from Plymouth Colony.'

"'We'll consider it so this evening,' said Lincoln.

"Various others were presented, when Mr. Ashmun asked them to come up and introduce themselves.

"'Come up, gentlemen,' said Mr. Judd, 'it's nobody but Old Abe Lincoln.' The greatest good feeling prevailed. As the delegates fell back, each congratulated the other that they had got just the sort of man. A neatly-dressed New Englander remarked to us, 'I was afraid I should meet a gigantic rail-splitter, with the manners of a flatboatman, and the ugliest face in creation; and he's a complete gentleman.'

"Mrs. Lincoln received the delegates in the south parlor, where they were severally conducted after their official duty

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* Judge Douglas, the Democratic nominee for President, was familiarly known as "The Little Giant."

was performed. It will, no doubt, be a gratification to those who have not seen this amiable and accomplished lady, to know that she adorns a drawing-room, presides over a table, does the honors on an occasion like the present, or will do the honors at the White House, with appropriate grace. She is a daughter of Dr. Todd, formerly of Kentucky, and long one of the prominent citizens of Springfield. She is one of three sisters, noted for their beauty and accomplishments. One of them is now the wife of Ninian W. Edwards, Esq., son of old Governor Edwards. Mrs. Lincoln is now apparently about thirty-five years of age, is a very handsome woman, with a vivacious and graceful manner; is an interesting, and often sparkling talker. Standing by her almost gigantic husband, she appears petite, but is really about the average height of ladies. They have three sons, two of them already mentioned, and an older one—a young man of sixteen or eighteen years, now at Harvard College, Massachusetts.

"Mr. Lincoln bore himself during the evening with dignity and ease. His kindly and sincere manner, frank and honest expression, unaffected, pleasant conversation, soon made every one feel at ease, and rendered the hour and a half which they spent with him one of great pleasure to the delegates. He was dressed with perfect neatness, almost elegance—though, as all Illinoisans know, he usually is as plain in his attire as he is modest and unassuming in deportment. He stood erect, displaying to excellent advantage his tall and manly figure.

"It is needless to say that the people of Springfield were delirious with joy and enthusiasm that evening. As the delegates returned to the hotel—the sky blazing with rockets, cannon roaring at intervals, bonfires blazing at the street-corners, long rows of buildings brilliantly illuminated, the State House overflowing with shouting people, speakers awakening new enthusiasm—one of the New England delegates remarked that there were more enthusiasm and skyrockets than he ever saw in a town of that size before."

A correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, described this visit to Mr. Lincoln in the following manner:

"It had been reported by some of Mr. Lincoln's political enemies, that he was a man who lived in the 'lowest hoosier style,' and I thought I would see for myself. Accordingly, as soon as the business of the Convention was closed, I took the cars for Springfield. I found Mr. Lincoln living in a handsome but not pretentious double two-story frame house, having a wide hall running through the centre, with parlors on both sides, neatly but not ostentatiously furnished. It was just such a dwelling as a majority of the well-to-do residents of these fine western towns occupy. Every thing about it had a look of comfort and independence. The library, I remarked in passing particularly, and I was pleased to see long rows of books, which told of the scholarly tastes and culture of the family.

"Lincoln received us with great, and, to me, surprising urbanity. I had seen him before in New York, and brought with me an impression of his awkward and ungainly manner; but in his own house, where he doubtless feels himself freer than in the strange New York circles, he had thrown this off, and appeared easy, if not graceful. He is, as you know, a tall lank man, with a long neck, and his ordinary movements are unusually angular, even out west. As soon, however, as he gets interested in conversation, his face lights up, and his attitudes and gestures assume a certain dignity and impressivenes. His conversation is fluent, agreeable, and polite. You see at once from it that he is a man of decided and original character. His views are all his own—such as he has worked out from a patient and varied scrutiny of life, and not such as he has learned from others. Yet he cannot be called opinionated. He listens to others like one eager to learn, and his replies evince at the same time both modesty and self-reliance. I should say that sound common-sense was the principal quality of his mind,

although at times a striking phrase or word reveals a peculiar vein of thought. He tells a story well, with a strong idiomatic smack, and seems to relish humor, both in himself and others. Our conversation was mainly political, but of a general nature. One thing Mr. Lincoln remarked which I will venture to repeat. He said that in the coming Presidential canvass he was wholly uncommitted to any cabals or cliques, and that he meant to keep himself free from them, and from all pledges and promises.

"I had the pleasure, also, of a brief interview with Mrs. Lincoln, and, in the circumstances of these persons, I trust I am not trespassing on the sanctities of private life in saying a word in regard to that lady. Whatever of awkwardness may be ascribed to her husband, there is none of it in her. On the contrary, she is quite a pattern of lady-like courtesy and polish. She converses with freedom and grace, and is thoroughly *au fait* in all the little amenities of society. Mrs. Lincoln belongs, by the mother's side, to the Preston family of Kentucky, has received a liberal and refined education, and, should she ever reach it, will adorn the White House. She is, I am told, a strict and consistent member of the Presbyterian church.

"Not a man of us who saw Mr. Lincoln but was impressed by his ability and character. In illustration of the last, let me mention one or two things, which your readers I think will be pleased to hear. Mr. Lincoln's early life, as you know, was passed in the roughest kind of experience on the frontier, and among the roughest sort of people. Yet, I have been told, that in the face of all these influences, he is a strictly temperate man, never using wine or strong drink; and, stranger still, he does not 'twist the filthy weed,' nor smoke, nor use profane language of any kind. When we consider how common these vices are all over our country, and particularly in the west, it must be admitted that it exhibits no little strength of character to have refrained from them.

"Mr. Lincoln is popular with his friends and neighbors; the

habitual equity of his mind points him out as a peacemaker and composer of difficulties; his integrity is proverbial; and his legal abilities are regarded as of the highest order. The *soubriquet* of 'Honest Old Abe,' has been won by years of upright conduct, and is the popular homage to his probity. He carries the marks of honesty in his face and entire deportment.'

"I am the more convinced, by this personal intercourse with Mr. Lincoln, that the action of our Convention was altogether judicious and proper."

On the 23d, Mr. Lincoln formally replied to the official announcement of his nomination by the following brief letter:

"SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, *May 23d*, 1860.

"HON. GEORGE ASHMUN, *President of the Republican National Convention:*

"SIR:—I accept the nomination tendered me by the Convention over which you presided, and of which I am formally apprised in the letter of yourself and others, acting as a committee of the Convention for that purpose.

"The declaration of principles and sentiments, which accompanies your letter, meets my approval; and it shall be my care not to violate or disregard it, in any part.

"Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the Convention; to the rights of all the States and Territories, and people of the nation; to the inviolability of the Constitution, and the perpetual union, harmony and prosperity of all, I am most happy to coöperate for the practical success of the principles declared by the Convention.

"Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

To the western Republicans, the news of this nomination was, generally, very acceptable. Not only did they recognize in Abraham Lincoln a man of integrity and simple virtue, but one in whom was embodied the truly democratic element of *free* America, a freedom-lover, a right-respecter, and a noble, talented statesman, sprung from the very heart of the masses. Confident of their man and devoted to the principles set forth in the platform adopted by the Convention—they entered the contest with a zeal and industry which were without parallel in the history of the country.

But, in the Eastern States, there was at first, a feeling of surprise and disappointment, at the nomination made at Chicago. Mr. Seward, then in the culmination of his good fame, was the favorite of the East, and when the new and comparatively unknown name of Lincoln was announced, they heard the result coldly, and with despondency. To them he was an almost unknown, an unprepossessing man, apparently ill-fitted for a crisis which they felt to be the gravest in American history, and one demanding all the powers of the ablest and most experienced statesman. They took him, as it were, "on trust," on the recommendation of his western friends. "But" as has been well said, "it turned out not to be a chance. The profound good opinion which the people of Illinois and of the West had conceived of him, and which they had imparted to their colleagues, that they also might justify themselves to their constituents at home, was not rash, though they did not begin to know the richness of his worth."

So the party took up the ticket with zeal and the

country rang with the battle-cry of "Lincoln and Hamlin."

The Democratic party was rent in twain. Many of its life-long supporters, alarmed at the violence of the southern leaders, the imperiousness of their demands, and their manifest determination to drive matters to the alternative of civil war, had rallied around Judge Douglas, hoping that a moderate policy, under a Democratic President, might influence a return to calmness and reason, and ultimately to a compromise between the extreme elements then agitating the country. The Democratic Convention at Charleston, S. C., was, however, broken up by the ultraism of the South, and the delegates formed two different bodies, with separate platforms and candidates. Stephen A. Douglas was the nominee of the moderate or "anti-slavery, total indifference" party, with Herschell V. Johnson as candidate for Vice President; and John G. Breckinridge, then actually Vice President of the United States, was the Presidential candidate of the extreme Southern men, with Mr. Lane, of Oregon. A fourth, or "conservative Union" ticket was also presented to the public, in the vain hope of healing dissension, with the names of John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts.

The country "stripped itself" promptly and zealously to the work of canvass and election, with an interest and deep feeling which it is impossible to describe. The result, however, could not long be doubtful. The Republicans were enthusiastic, well organized, and hopeful. The Democracy was a house divided against itself, and consequently dispirited; while the southern

section absolutely courted a defeat, whose certainty they had already planned, as a pretext for the secession movement which they contemplated.

The result of the ensuing election, of November 6th, 1860, was, that Mr. Lincoln received four hundred and ninety-one thousand, two hundred and seventy-five over Mr. Douglas; one million, eighteen thousand, four hundred and ninety-nine over Mr. Breckinridge; and one million, two hundred and seventy-five thousand, eight hundred and twenty-one over Mr. Bell; and the electoral vote, subsequently proclaimed by Congress, was—for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, one hundred and eighty; for John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, seventy-two; for John Bell, of Tennessee, thirty-nine; for Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, twelve. The following States cast their electoral votes for Mr. Lincoln: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California—sixteen in number.

The votes of Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas, eleven States, were cast for Breckinridge and Lane. The votes of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, were cast for Bell and Everett. The electoral vote of Missouri was given for Douglas and Johnson. The vote of New Jersey was divided, four being given for Lincoln, and three for Douglas.

The aggregate popular vote for each of the Presidential candidates, at this election, was as follows: for Mr. Lincoln, one million, eight hundred and sixty-six thousand, four hundred and fifty-two; for Mr.

Douglas, one million, three hundred and seventy-five thousand, one hundred and fifty-seven; for Mr. Breckinridge, eight hundred and forty-seven thousand, nine hundred and fifty-three; and for Mr. Bell, five hundred and ninety thousand, six hundred and thirty-one. The total vote for the two loyal candidates, was three million, two hundred and forty-one thousand, six hundred and nine.

Among the many stirring songs, which were at once the effect and the stimulant of the popular enthusiasm during the ensuing campaign, none were more popular or meritorious than the following, by William Henry Burleigh, of New York:

"Up, again for the conflict! our banner fling out,
And rally around it with song and with shout!
Stout of heart, firm of hand, should the gallant boys be,
Who bear to the battle the Flag of the Free!
Like our fathers, when Liberty called to the strife,
They should pledge to her cause fortune, honor, and life!
And follow wherever she beckons them on,
'Till Freedom exults in a victory won!
Then fling out the banner, the old starry banner,
The battle-torn banner that beckons us on!

"They come from the hillside, they come from the glen—
From the streets thronged with traffic, and surging with men;
From loom and from ledger, from workshop and farm,
The fearless of heart, and the mighty of arm.
As the mountain-born torrents exultingly leap,
When their ice-fetters melt, to the breast of the deep;
As the winds of the prairie, the waves of the sea,
They are coming—are coming—the Sons of the Free!
Then fling out the banner, the old starry banner,
The war-tattered banner, the Flag of the Free!

"Our Leader is one who, with conquerless will,
Has climbed from the base to the brow of the hill;
Undaunted in peril, unwavering in strife,
He has fought a good fight in the Battle of Life.
And we trust him as one who, come woe or come weal,
Is as firm as the rock, and as true as the steel,
Right loyal and brave, with no stain on his crest,
Then hurrah, boys, for honest 'Old Abe of the West!'
And fling out your banner, the old starry banner,
The signal of triumph for 'Abe of the West!'

"The West, whose broad acres, from lake-shore to sea,
Now wait for the harvest and homes of the free!
Shall the dark tide of Slavery roll o'er the sod,
That Freedom makes bloom like the garden of God?
The bread of our children be torn from their mouth,
To feed the fierce dragon that preys on the South?
No, never! the trust which our Washington laid
On us, for the Future, shall ne'er be betrayed!
Then fling out the banner, the old starry banner,
And on to the conflict with hearts undismayed!"

CHAPTER VII.

THE GATHERING STORM IN THE SOUTHERN POLITICAL HORIZON.

Traitorous movements in the South.—Duplicity of Southern men in the Cabinet.—Imbecility or complicity of President Buchanan.—Secession of South Carolina.—The Montgomery (Ala.) Convention.—Formation of the new Confederacy.—Election of Davis as its Head.—Policy of the Confederacy towards the United States.—Opinions of the Rebel Leaders.—Resignation of Southern men from the United States Cabinet and Congress.—Course of events at the North.—The Crittenden Compromise.—Resolutions of the House.—The Peace Convention, and its Resolutions.

SCARCELY was the result of the popular vote made known than various movements in the southern States indicated a purpose of traitorous resistance, and it soon became apparent that even members of the Government under the Presidency of Mr. Buchanan, had officially given it their sanction and aid. On the 29th of October, General Scott sent to the President and John B. Floyd, his Secretary of War, a letter expressing apprehensions lest the southern people should seize some of the Federal forts in the southern States, and advising that they should be immediately garrisoned by way of precaution. The Secretary of War, according to statements, subsequently made by one of his eulogists in Virginia, "thwarted, objected, resisted, and forbade" the adoption of those measures, which, according to the same authority, if carried into execution, would have

defeated the conspiracy, and rendered impossible the formation of a Southern Confederacy. A subsequent official report from the Ordnance Department, dated January, 16, 1861, "shows that, during the year 1860, and *previous* to the Presidential election, one hundred and fifteen thousand muskets had been removed from northern armories and sent to southern arsenals, by a single order of the Secretary of War, issued on the 30th of December, 1859." The quotas of Government arms for the southern States were, thus, not only filled by the Secretary, with the full knowledge that they were to be used against the laws and the Constitution, but the perfidious official, *anticipating* the resolution, sent two years' quotas where only one was due—thus stripping the arsenals, and depriving the northern States of the *material* for arming their citizens to preserve the Union.

And, further to aid the plans of the conspirators, on the 20th of November the Attorney-General, Hon. John S. Black, in reply to inquiries of the President, gave him the official opinion that Congress had no right to carry on war against any State, either to prevent a threatened violation of the Constitution or to enforce an acknowledgment that the Government of the United States is supreme: a theory which it soon became apparent that the President had adopted as the basis and guide of his executive action.

Meanwhile, southern men, members of Mr. Buchanan's cabinet were, during these months, as they had been previously, busy plundering the public treasury of money and munitions of war, and in every way contributing to the future embarrassment of the country.

And the pitiable, weak-minded, terrified chief magistrate, sat trembling in the gubernational chair, pleading with traitors to wait until *he* should have resigned his office, and declaring that he could see no constitutional power in the Government to defend its laws, or vindicate its authority. A nation's silent contempt had fallen upon him, and there it will forever rest.

We quote from Mr. Raymond's admirable summary of events:

'South Carolina took the lead in the secession movement. Her Legislature assembled on the 4th of November, 1860, and after casting the electoral vote of the State for John C. Breckinridge to be President of the United States, passed an act the next day calling a State Convention to meet at Columbia on the 17th of December. On the 10th, F. W. Pickens was elected Governor, and, in his inaugural, declared the determination of the State to secede, on the ground, that, 'in the recent election for President and Vice-President, the North had carried the election upon principles that make it no longer safe for us to rely upon the powers of the Federal Government or the guarantees of the Federal compact. This,' he added, 'is the great overt act of the people of the northern States, who propose to inaugurate a chief magistrate not to preside over the common interests or destinies of all the States alike, but upon issues of malignant hostility and uncompromising war to be waged upon the rights, the interests, and the peace of half of the States of this Union.' The Convention met on the 17th of December, and adjourned the next day to Charleston, on account of the prevalence of small pox at Columbia. On the 20th an ordinance was passed unanimously repealing the ordinance adopted May 23, 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and 'dissolving the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States of America;' and on the

24th the Governor issued his proclamation, declaring the State of South Carolina to be a 'separate, sovereign, free, and independent State.'

"This was the first act of secession passed by any State. The debates in the State Convention show clearly enough that it was not taken under the impulse of resentment for any sharp and remediless wrong, nor in apprehension that any such wrong would be inflicted; but in pursuance of a settled and long-cherished purpose. In that debate Mr. Parker said that the movement was 'no spasmodic effort—it had been gradually culminating for a long series of years.' Mr. Englis endorsed this remark, and added, 'Most of us have had this matter under consideration for the last twenty years.' Mr. L. M. Keitt said, 'I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life.' And Mr. Rhett, who had been for many years in the public service, declared that the 'secession of South Carolina was not the event of a day. It is not,' said he, 'any thing produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or by the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years. The election of Lincoln and Hamlin was the last straw on the back of the camel. But it was not the only one. The back was nearly broken before.' So far as South Carolina was concerned there can be no doubt that her actions was decided by men who had been plotting disunion for thirty years, not on account of any wrongs her people had sustained at the hands of the Federal Government, but from motives of personal and sectional ambition, and for the purpose of establishing a government which should be permanently and completely in the interest of slavery.

"But the disclosures which have since been made, imperfect comparatively as they are, prove clearly that the whole secession movement was in the hands of a few conspirators, who had their headquarters at the national Capital, and were themselves closely connected with the Government of the United

States. A secret meeting of these men was held at Washington on the night of the 5th of January, 1861, at which the Senators from Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, and Florida were present. They decided, by resolutions, that each of the southern States should secede from the Union as soon as possible; that a Convention of seceding States should be held at Montgomery, Alabama, not later than the 15th of February; and that the Senators and members of Congress from the southern States ought to remain in their seats as long as possible, in order to defeat measures that might be proposed at Washington hostile to the secession movement. Davis of Mississippi, Slidell of Louisiana, and Mallory of Florida, were appointed a committee to carry these decisions into effect; and, in pursuance of them, Mississippi passed an ordinance of secession January 9th; Alabama and Florida, January 11th; Louisiana, January 26th, and Texas, February 5th. All these acts, as well as all which followed, were simply the execution of the behests of this secret conclave of conspirators who had resolved upon secession. In all the Conventions of the seceding States, delegates were appointed to meet at Montgomery. In not one of them was the question of secession submitted to a vote of the people; although in some of them the Legislatures had expressly forbidden them to pass any ordinance of secession without making its validity depend on its ratification by the popular vote. The Convention met at Montgomery on the 4th of February, and adopted a provisional constitution, to continue in operation for one year. Under this constitution Jefferson Davis was elected President of the new Confederacy, and Alex. H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President. Both were inaugurated on the 18th. In an address delivered on his arrival at Montgomery, Mr. Davis declared that 'the time for compromise has now passed, and the South is determined to maintain her position, and make all who oppose her smell southern powder and feel southern steel, if coercion is persisted in.' He felt sure of

the result; it might be they would 'have to encounter inconveniences at the beginning,' but he had no doubts of the final issue. The first part of his anticipation has been fully realized; it remains to be seen whether the end will be as peaceful and satisfactory as he predicted.

"The policy of the new Confederacy towards the United States was soon officially made known. The government decided to maintain the *status quo* until the expiration of Mr. Buchanan's term, feeling assured that with his declared belief that it would be unconstitutional to coerce a State, they need apprehend from his administration no active hostility to their designs. They had some hope that, by the 4th of March, their new Confederacy would be so far advanced that the new Administration might waive its purpose of coercion; and they deemed it wise not to do any thing which should rashly forfeit the favor and support of 'that very large portion of the North whose moral sense was on their side.' Nevertheless, they entered upon prompt and active preparations for war. Contracts were made in various parts of the south for the manufacture of powder, shell, cannon balls, and other munitions of war. Recruiting was set on foot in several of the States. A plan was adopted for the organization of a regular army of the Confederacy, and on the 6th of March, Congress passed an act authorizing a military force of one hundred thousand men."

Thus was opened a new chapter in the history of America, and thus were taken the first steps towards overthrowing the Government and Constitution of the United States, and establishing a new nation, with a new Constitution, resting upon new principles, and aiming at new results.

After the new Confederacy had been organized, Mr. A. H. Stephens, its Vice President, made an elaborate speech to the citizens of Savannah, which is the most

authoritative and explicit statement of the character and objects of the new government which was ever made. Mr. Stephens said:

"The new constitution has put at rest forever all agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split.' He was right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that, somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built upon it was wrong—when the storm came and the wind blew, it fell.

"*Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condi-*

tion. This, our new Government, is the first in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It is even so amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well that this truth was not generally admitted even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North who still cling to these errors with a zeal above knowledge, we justly denominate fanatics."

Such was the course of events in the southern States during the three months succeeding the election of President Lincoln.

Let us now see what occurred at Washington, and in the loyal States of the North, during the same period. Congress met on the 3d of December, and received a message from President Buchanan, in which the discontent of the southern States was ascribed to the violent agitation in the North against slavery, which had created dissatisfaction among the slaves, and created apprehensions of servile insurrection.

Commencing with this absurd proposition, Buchanan vindicated the hostile action of the South, assuming that it was prompted by these apprehensions; but went on to show that there was no right on the part of any State to secede from the Union, while at the same time he contended that the general Government had no right to make war on any State for the purpose of preventing it from seceding, and closed this portion of his message by recommending an amendment of the Constitution which should explicitly recognize the right of property in slaves, and provide for the protection of that

right in all the Territories of the United States. The belief that the people of South Carolina would make an attempt to seize one or more of the forts in the harbor of Charleston, created considerable uneasiness at Washington; and on the 9th of December the Representatives from that State wrote to the President expressing their "strong convictions" that no such attempt would be made previous to the action of that State Convention, "*provided* that no reinforcements should be sent into those forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at present." On the 10th of December, Howell Cobb resigned his office as Secretary of the Treasury, and on the 14th General Cass resigned his office as Secretary of State. The latter resigned because the President refused to reinforce the forts in the harbor of Charleston. On the 20th, the State of South Carolina passed the ordinance of secession, and on the 26th Major Anderson transferred his garrison from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter. On the 29th, John B. Floyd resigned his office as Secretary of War, alleging that the action of Major Anderson was in violation of pledges given by the Government that the military status of the forts at Charleston should remain unchanged, and that the President had declined to allow him to issue an order, for which he had applied on the 27th, to withdraw the garrison from the harbor of Charleston. On the 29th of December, Messrs. Barnwell, Adams, and Orr arrived at Washington, as Commissioners from the State of South Carolina, and at once opened a correspondence with President Buchanan, asking for the delivery of the forts and other government property at Charleston to the authorities of South Carolina. The President re-

plied on the 20th, reviewing the whole question—stating that in removing from Fort Moultrie Major Anderson acted solely on his own responsibility, and that his first impulse on hearing of it was to order him to return, but that the occupation of the fort by South Carolina and the seizure of the arsenal at Charleston had rendered this impossible. The Commissioners replied on the 1st of January, 1861, insisting that the President had pledged himself to maintain the status of affairs in Charleston harbor previous to the removal of Major Anderson from Fort Moultrie, and calling on him to redeem this pledge. This communication the President returned.

On the 8th of January the President sent a message to Congress, calling their attention to the condition of public affairs, declaring that while he had no right to make aggressive war upon any State, it was his right and his duty to "use military force defensively against those who resist the federal officers in the execution of their legal functions, and against those who assail the property of the Federal Government;"—but throwing the whole responsibility of meeting the extraordinary emergencies of the occasion upon Congress. On the same day Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, resigned his office as Secretary of the Interior, because the Star of the West had been sent on the 5th, by order of the Government, with supplies for Fort Sumter, in violation, as he alleged, of the decision of the Cabinet. On the 10th, P. F. Thomas, of Maryland, who had replaced Howell Cobb as Secretary of the Treasury, resigned, and was succeeded by General John A. Dix, of New York.

The debates and the action of Congress throughout the session related mainly to the questions at issue between the two sections. The discussion opened on the 3d of December as soon as the President's Message had been read. The southern Senators generally treated the election of the previous November as having been a virtual decision against the equality and rights of the slaveholding States. The Republican members disavowed this construction, and proclaimed their willingness to adopt any just and proper measures which would quiet the apprehensions of the South, while they insisted that the authority of the Constitution should be maintained, and the constitutional election of a President should be respected. At the opening of the session, Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, in the Senate, moved the reference of that portion of the President's Message which related to the sectional difficulties of the country, to a select committee of thirteen. This resolution being adopted, Mr. Crittenden introduced a series of joint resolutions, afterwards known as the Crittenden Compromise—proposing to submit to the action of the people of the several States the following amendment to the Constitution:

"1. Prohibiting slavery in all the territory of the United States north of 36° 30′, and protecting it as property in all territory south of that line; and admitting into the Union, with or without slavery, as its Constitution might provide, any State that might be formed out of such territory, whenever its population should be sufficient to entitle it to a member of Congress.

"2. Prohibiting Congress from abolishing slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction within slave States.

"3. Prohibiting Congress from abolishing slavery within the District of Columbia, so long as slavery should exist in Virginia or Maryland; or without the consent of the inhabitants or without just compensation to the owners.

"4. Prohibiting Congress from hindering the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a Territory in which slavery is allowed.

"5. Providing that where a fugitive slave is lost to his owner by violent resistance to the execution of the process of the law for his recovery, the United States shall pay to said owner his full value, and may recover the same from the county in which such rescue occurred.

"6. These provisions were declared to be unchangeable by any future amendment to the Constitution, as were also the existing existing articles relating to the representation of slaves and the surrender of fugitives"

Mr. Crittenden's resolutions also embodied certain declarations in affirmance of the constitutionality and binding force of the fugitive slave law—recommending the repeal by the States of all bills the effect of which was to hinder the execution of that law—proposing to amend it by equalizing its fees, and urging the effectual execution of the law for the suppression of the African slave trade.

These resolutions were referred to a committee of thirteen, which, on the thirty-first of December, reported that they "had not been able to agree upon any general plan of adjustment." The whole subject was discussed over and over again during the residue of the session; no final action being taken until the very day of its close. Between the twenty-first of January and the fourth of February, the representatives of Florida,

Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, vacated their seats in the Senate.

In the House of Representatives the debates took the same general direction as in the Senate, and on the first day of the session, a resolution was adopted, by a vote of one hundred and forty-five to thirty-eight, to refer so much of the President's message as related to the perilous condition of the country to a committee of one from each State. In a few days the committee reported the following series of resolutions, and recommended their adoption:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all attempts on the parts of the Legislatures of any of the States to obstruct or hinder the recovery and surrender of fugitives from service or labor, are in derogation of the Constitution of the United States, inconsistent with the comity and good neighborhood that should prevail among the several States and dangerous to the peace of the Union.

Resolved, That the several States be respectfully requested to cause their statutes to be revised, with a view to ascertain if any of them are in conflict with or tend to embarrass or hinder the execution of the laws of the United States, made in pursuance of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, for the delivering up of persons held to labor by the laws of any State, and escaping therefrom; and the Senate and House of Representatives earnestly request that all enactments having such tendency be forthwith repealed, as required by a just sense of constitutional obligations, and by a due regard for the peace of the Republic; and the President of the United States is requested to communicate these resolutions to the Governors of the several States, with a request that they will lay the same before the Legislatures thereof respectively.

Resolved, That we recognize slavery as now existing in fifteen of the United States, by the usages and laws of those States; and we recognize no authority, legally or otherwise, outside of a State where it so exists, to interfere with slaves or slavery in such States, in disregard of the rights of their owners or the peace of society.

Resolved, That we recognize the justice and propriety of a faithful execution of the Constitution, and laws made in pursuance thereof, on the subject of fugitive slaves, or fugitives from service or labor, and discountenance all mobs or hindrances to the execution of such laws, and that citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Resolved, That we recognize no such conflicting elements in its composition, or sufficient cause from any source, for a dissolution of this government; that we were not sent here to destroy, but to sustain and harmonize the institutions of the country, and to see that equal justice is done to all parts of the same; and finally, to perpetuate its existence, on terms of equality and justice to all the States.

Resolved, That a faithful observance, on the part of all the States, of all their constitutional obligations to each other and to the Federal Government, is essential to the peace of the country.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to enforce the federal laws, protect the federal property, and preserve the Union of these States.

Resolved, That each State be requested to revise its statutes, and, if necessary, so to amend the same as to secure, without legislation by Congress, to citizens of other States travelling therein, the same protection as citizens of such State enjoy; and also to protect the citizens of other States travelling or sojourning therein, against popular violence or illegal summary punishment, without trial in due form of law for imputed crimes.

Resolved, That each State be also respectfully requested to enact such laws as will prevent and punish any attempt whatever in such State to recognize or set on foot the lawless invasion of any other State or Territory.

Resolved, That the President be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing resolutions to the Governors of the several States, with a request that they be communicated to their respective Legislatures.

These resolutions were intended, and admirably calculated to calm the apprehensions of the people of the slaveholding States as to any disposition on the part of the Federal Government to interfere with slavery, or withhold from them any of their constitutional rights; and, in a House controlled by a large Republican majority, they were adopted by a vote of ayes one hundred and thirty-six, noes fifty-three. Not content with this effort to satisfy all just complaints on the part of the southern States, the same committee reported the following resolution, recommending that

"No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State."

This resolution was adopted by a vote of one hundred and thirty-three to sixty-five—more than *two-thirds* in its favor. This closed the action of the House of Representatives, at this session, on this important subject, though it had previously adopted, by a unanimous vote, the following declaratory resolution:

Resolved, That neither the Federal Government nor the peo-

ple, or the governments of the non-slaveholding States, have the right to legislate upon or interfere with slavery in any of the slaveholding States in the Union.

The action of the Senate was somewhat modified by the intervening action of a Peace Conference, which assembled at Washington on the 4th of February, in pursuance of a recommendation of the State of Virginia, embodied in resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of that State on the 19th of January. It consisted of delegates, one hundred and thirty-three in number, from twenty-one States—none of those which had seceded being represented. John Tyler, of Virginia, was appointed president, and a committee, consisting of one from each State, was appointed, with authority to "report what they may deem right, necessary, and proper to restore harmony and preserve the Union." On the 15th of February the committee reported the following preamble and resolutions:

To the Congress of the United States:

The Convention assembled upon the invitation of the State of Virginia to adjust the unhappy differences which now disturb the peace of the Union and threaten its continuance, make known to the Congress of the United States, that their body convened in the city of Washington on the 4th instant, and continued in session until the 27th.

There were in the body, when action was taken upon that which is here submitted, one hundred and thirty-three commissioners, representing the following States: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas.

They have approved what is herewith submitted, and respectfully request that your honorable body will submit it to conventions in the States as an article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

SECTION 1. In all the present territory of the United States, north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, is prohibited. In all the present territory south of that line, the status of persons held to involuntary service or labor, as it now exists, shall not be changed; nor shall any law be passed by Congress or the Territorial Legislature to hinder or prevent the taking of such persons from any of the States of this Union to said Territory, nor to impair the rights arising from said relation; but the same shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the Federal Courts, according to the course of the common law. When any Territory north or south of said line, within such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude as the constitution of such State may provide.

SECTION 2. No territory shall be acquired by the United States, except by discovery, and for naval and commercial stations, depots, and transit routes, without the concurrence of a majority of all the Senators from States which allow involuntary servitude, and a majority of all the Senators from States which prohibit that relation; nor shall territory be acquired by treaty, unless the votes of a majority of the Senators from each class of States hereinbefore mentioned be cast as a part of the two-thirds necessary to the ratification of such treaty.

SECTION 3. Neither the Constitution nor any amendment thereof shall be construed to give Congress power to regulate, abolish, or control, within any State, the relation established or recognized by the laws thereof, touching persons held to labor

or involuntary service therein, nor to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland and without the consent of the owners, or making the owners who do not consent just compensation; nor the power to interfere with or prohibit Representatives and others from bringing with them to the District of Columbia, retaining and taking away, persons so held to labor or service; nor the power to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States within those States and Territories where the same is established or recognized; nor the power to prohibit the removal or transportation of persons held to labor or involuntary service in any State or Territory of the United States to any other State or Territory thereof where it is established or recognized by law or usage, and the right during transportation, by sea or river, of touching at ports, shores, and of landing in case of distress, shall exist; but not the right of transit in or through any State or Territory, or of sale or traffic, against the law thereof. Nor shall Congress have power to authorize any higher rate of taxation on persons held to labor or service than on land.

SECTION 4. The third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall not be construed to prevent any of the States, by appropriate legislation, and through the action of their judicial and ministerial officers, from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labor to the person to whom such service or labor is due.

SECTION 5. The foreign slave trade is hereby forever prohibited, and it shall be the duty of Congress to pass laws to prevent the importation of slaves, coolies, or persons held to service or labor, into the United States and the Territories, from places beyond the limits thereof.

SECTION 6. The first, third, and fifth sections, together with this section of these amendments, and the third paragraph of the second section of the Constitution, and the third paragraph

of the section of the fourth article thereof, shall not be amended or abolished without the consent of all the States.

SECTION 7. Congress shall provide by law that the United States shall pay to the owner the full value of his fugitive from labor, in all cases where the marshal or other officer whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive, was prevented from doing so by violence or intimidation, from mobs or other riotous assemblages; or when, after arrest, such fugitive was rescued by like violence or intimidation, and the owner thereby deprived of the same; and the acceptance of such payment shall preclude the owner from further claim to such fugitive. Congress shall provide by law for securing to the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

The following resolution was also moved and adopted:

Resolved, As the sense of this Convention, that the highest political duty of every citizen of the United States is his allegiance to the Federal Government created by the Constitution of the United States, and that no State of this Union has any Constitutional right to secede therefrom, or to absolve the citizens of such State from their allegiance to the government of the United States.

On the second day of March these resolutions were communicated to the Senate, and referred to a committee, who, the next day, reported them back for adoption—Messrs. Seward and Trumbull offering a minority report, proposing the adoption of a resolution calling on the Legislatures of the States to express their will in regard to calling a Convention for amending the Constitution.

Then followed a series of amendments, resolutions, and counter-resolutions, all of which were defeated, and the peace resolutions were finally lost, in consequence

of the withdrawal of Senators from the disaffected States. The question being then taken on the House resolution to amend the Constitution so as to prohibit forever any amendment of the Constitution interfering with slavery in any State, the resolution was *adopted* by a two-thirds vote—ayes twenty-four, nays twelve.

This closed the action of Congress upon this important subject. "Strongly Republican in both branches, yet it had done every thing consistent with justice and fidelity to the Constitution to disarm the apprehensions of the southern States, and to remove all provocation for their resistance to the incoming administration. It had given the strongest possible pledge that it had no intention of interfering with slavery in any State by amending the Constitution, so as to make such interference forever impossible. It had created governments for three new Territories—Nevada, Dakotah, and Colorado—and passed no law excluding slavery from any one of them. It had severely censured the legislation of some of the northern States intended to hinder the recovery of fugitives from labor; and in response to its expressed wishes, Rhode Island repealed its laws of that character—and Vermont, Maine, Massachusetts and Wisconsin, had the subject under consideration, and were ready to take similar action. Yet all this had no effect whatever in changing or checking the secession movement in the southern States."

CHAPTER VIII.

MR. LINCOLN'S INAUGURAL TOUR TO WASHINGTON.

His farewell at Springfield, Ill.—Addresses at Toledo, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Steubenville, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Syracuse, Utica, Albany, Poughkeepsie.—His grand reception at New York City.—Arrives at Newark, N. J.—Trenton.—Is received at Philadelphia.—Visits, and helps to raise a Flag on "Independence Hall."—Stops at Harrisburg.—Makes a sudden appearance in Washington.—Escapes a plot for his Assassination.—Is welcomed by the city authorities of Washington, and addresses them.

MR. LINCOLN, during the period intervening between his election and his assumption of office, maintained a wise silence on the national affairs. He probably felt that it was neither politic to commit himself by any public utterances, or becoming to take any step which might be construed as interference with the duties and responsibilities of those who still held the reins of government.

He could not, however, conceal from himself the formidable nature of the task before him. To him, the Presidential office presented no daily round of quiet routine; for in a few days the southern States, who had taken part in the recent election, would have chosen another President, whose authority they were prepared to maintain by force of arms, against the authority which had been vested in himself as the legitimate head of the people.

But the time soon drew near when he was to enter upon the high office to which he had been called by the voice of the people. Accordingly, on the 11th of February, 1861, he left his home in Springfield, Illinois, accompanied to the railroad depot by a large concourse of his friends and neighbors, to whom he bade farewell in the following touching words, which, read at the present time, have a mournful interest:

"My Friends: No one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century. Here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is perhaps greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and in the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again, I bid you all an affectionate farewell."

At Toledo, he appeared upon the platform of the cars, and in response to the applause which hailed his appearance, said:

"I am leaving you on an errand of national importance, attended, as you are aware, with considerable difficulties. Let us believe, as some poet has expressed it, 'Behind the cloud the sun is still shining.' I bid you an affectionate farewell."

At Indianapolis he was welcomed by a salute of

thirty-four guns, was received by the Governor of the State, and escorted by a procession of the members of both Houses of the Legislature, the municipal authorities, the military and firemen. On arriving at the hotel, he responded to the hearty applause of the large crowd assembled in the street, in a brief speech, in the course of which he uttered these sentiments:

"To the salvation of the Union there needs but one single thing, the hearts of a people like yours. [Applause.] Of the people, when they rise in mass in behalf of the Union and the liberties of their country, truly may it be said, 'The gates of hell cannot prevail against them.' [Renewed applause.] In all trying positions in which I shall be placed, and, doubtless, I shall be placed in many such, my reliance will be placed upon you and the people of the United States; and I wish you to remember, now and forever, that it is your business, and not mine; that if the Union of these States, and the liberties of this people shall be lost, it is but little to any one man of fifty-two years of age, but a great deal to the thirty millions of people who inhabit these United States, and to their posterity in all coming time. It is your business to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty for yourselves, and not for me."

In the evening the members of the Legislature waited upon him in a body at his hotel, where one of their number, in presence of a very large assemblage of the citizens of the place, made a brief address of welcome and congratulation, which Mr. Lincoln acknowledged in the following fitting terms:

"Fellow-Citizens of the State of Indiana: I am here to thank you much for this magnificent welcome, and still more for the generous support given by your State to that

political cause which I think is the true and just cause of the whole country and the whole world.

"Solomon says there is 'a time to keep silence,' and when men wrangle by the mouth with no certainty that they *mean* the same *thing*, while using the same *word*, it perhaps were as well if they would keep silence.

"The words 'coercion' and 'invasion' are much used in these days, and often with some temper and hot blood. Let us make sure, if we can, that we do not misunderstand the meaning of those who use them. Let us get the exact definitions of these words, not from dictionaries, but from the men themselves, who certainly deprecate the things they would represent by the use of the word. What, then, is 'coercion?' What is 'invasion?' Would the marching of an army into South Carolina, without the consent of her people, and with hostile intent towards them, be invasion? I certainly think it would, and it would be 'coercion' also if the South Carolinaians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts and other property, and collect the duties on foreign importations, or even withhold the mails from places where they were habitually violated, would any or all these things be 'invasion' or 'coercion?' Do our professed lovers of the Union, but who spitefully resolve that they will resist coercion and invasion, understand that such things as these on the part of the United States, would be coercion or invasion of a State? If so, their idea of means to preserve the object of their affection would seem exceedingly thin and airy. If sick, the little pills of the homœopathists would be much too large for it to swallow. In their view, the Union, as a family relation, would seem to be no regular marriage, but a sort of 'free love' arrangement, to be maintained only on 'passional attraction.'

"By the way, in what consists the special sacredness of a State? I speak not of the position assigned to a State in the Union by the Constitution; for that, by the bond, we all recognize. That position, however, a State cannot carry out of the

Union with it. I speak of that assumed primary right of a State to rule all which is *less* than itself, and ruin all which is larger than itself. If a State and a county, in a given case, should be equal in extent of territory, and equal in number of inhabitants—in what, as a matter of principle, is the State better than the county? Would an exchange of names be an exchange of *rights* upon principle? On what rightful principle may a State, being not more than one-fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation, and then coerce a proportionally larger subdivision of itself, in the most arbitrary way? What mysterious right to play tyrant is conferred on a district of country, with its people, by merely calling it a State?

"Fellow-citizens, I am not asserting any thing; I am merely asking questions for you to consider. And now, allow me to bid you farewell."

On the morning of the twelfth, Mr. Lincoln arrived at Cincinnati, having been greeted along the route by the hearty applause of the thousands assembled at the successive stations. His reception at Cincinnati was overwhelming. Through streets so densely crowded that it was with the utmost difficulty the procession could secure a passage, Mr. Lincoln was escorted to the Burnett House, which had been handsomely decorated in honor of his visit. There he was welcomed by the Mayor of the city in a few remarks, in response to which he said:

"Mr. Mayor and Fellow-citizens:—I have spoken but once before this in Cincinnati. That was a year previous to the late Presidential election. On that occasion, in a playful manner, but with sincere words, I addressed much of what I said to the Kentuckians. I gave my opinion that we, as Republicans, would ultimately beat them as Democrats; but that they could

postpone that result longer by nominating Senator Douglas for the Presidency, than they could in any other way. They did not, in any true sense of the word, nominate Mr. Douglas, and the result has come certainly as soon as ever I expected. I also told them how I expected they would be treated after they should have been beaten; and I now wish to call their attention to what I then said upon that subject. I then said—'When we do as we say, beat you, you perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you, as far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you, as near as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson and Madison, treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institutions; to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution; and in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you so far as degenerate men, if we have degenerated, may, according to the example of those noble fathers, Washington, Jefferson and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we; that there is no difference between us, other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly.'

"Fellow-citizens of Kentucky! friends! brethren, may I call you in my new position? I see no occasion, and feel no inclination to retract a word of this. If it shall not be made good, be assured the fault shall not be mine."

To the German Republican associations which called upon him for an address of congratulation, he responded, warmly endorsing the wisdom of the Homestead bill, and speaking of the advantages offered by the soil and institutions of the United States to foreigners who might wish to make it their home. He left Cincinnati on the morning of the 13th, accompanied by a commit-

tee of the Ohio Legislature, which had come from the Capital to meet him. The party reached Columbus at 2 o'clock, and the President was escorted to the hall of the Assembly, where he was formally welcomed by the Lieutenant-Governor on behalf of the Legislature assembled in joint session, to which he made the following reply:

"MR. PRESIDENT AND MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:—It is true, as has been said by the President of the Senate, that very great responsibility rests upon me in the position to which the votes of the American people have called me. I am deeply sensible of that weighty responsibility. I cannot but know what you all know, that without a name, perhaps without a reason why I should have a name, there has fallen upon me a task such as did not rest even upon the Father of his country, and so feeling, I cannot but turn and look for the support without which it will be impossible for me to perform that great task. I turn, then, and look to the great American people, and to that God who has never forsaken them.

"Allusion has been made to the interest felt in relation to the policy of the new administration. In this I have received from some a degree of credit for having kept silence, and from others some depreciation. I still think that I was right. In the varying and repeatedly shifting scenes of the present, and without a precedent which could enable me to judge by the past, it has seemed fitting that before speaking upon the difficulties of the country, I should have gained a view of the whole field so as to be sure after all—at liberty to modify and change the course of policy as future events may make a change necessary. I have not maintained silence from any want of real anxiety. It is a good thing that there is no more than anxiety, for there is nothing going wrong. It is a consoling circumstance that when we look out, there is nothing

that really hurts anybody. We entertain different views upon political questions, but nobody is suffering any thing. This is a most consoling circumstance, and from it we may conclude that all we want is time, patience, and a reliance on that God who has never forsaken this people. Fellow-citizens, what I have said I have said altogether extemporaneously, and will now come to a close."

Both Houses then adjourned, and in the evening Mr. Lincoln held a levee, which was very largely attended. On the morning of the 14th, he left Columbus. At Steubenville, on the route, in reply to an address, he said:

"I fear the great confidence placed in my ability is unfounded. Indeed, I am sure it is. Encompassed by vast difficulties, as I am, nothing shall be wanted on my part, if sustained by the American people and God. I believe the devotion to the Constitution is equally great on both sides of the river. It is only the different understanding of that instrument that causes difficulties. The only dispute is, 'What are their rights?' If the majority should not rule, who should be the judge? Where is such a judge to be found? We should all be bound by the majority of the American people—if not, then the minority must control. Would that be right? Would it be just or generous? Asssuredly not."

He reiterated that the majority should rule: saying that if he adopted a wrong policy, the opportunity to condemn him would occur in four years' time. "Then I can be turned out, and a better man with better views put in my place."

At Pittsburg, on the 15th, he received a formal welcome, to which he responded as follows:

"The condition of the country is an extraordinary one, and fills the mind of every patriot with anxiety. It is my intention to give this subject all the consideration I possibly can, before specially deciding in regard to it, so that when I do speak, it may be as nearly right as possible. When I do speak, I hope I may say nothing in opposition to the spirit of the Constitution, contrary to the integrity of the Union, or which will prove inimical to the liberties of the people or to the peace of the whole country. And, furthermore, when the time arrives for me to speak on this great subject, I hope I may say nothing to disappoint the people generally throughout the country, especially if the expectation has been based upon any thing which I may have heretofore said. Notwithstanding the troubles across the river—(the speaker pointing southwardly across the Monongahela, and smiling)—there is no crisis but an artificial one. What is there now to warrant the condition of affairs presented by our friends over the river? Take even their own view of the questions involved, and there is nothing to justify the course they are pursuing. I repeat, then, there is no crisis, excepting such a one as may be gotten up at any time by turbulent men, aided by designing politicians. My advice to them, under such circumstances, is to *keep cool.* If the great American people only keep their temper on both sides of the line, the troubles will come to an end, and the question which now distracts the country will be settled, just as surely as all other difficulties of a like character which have originated in this government have been adjusted. Let the people on both sides keep their self-possession, and just as other clouds have cleared away in due time, so will this great nation continue to prosper as heretofore."

He then remarked at some length upon the tariff question—a subject of peculiar interest to Pennsylvanians, and fully endorsed the twelfth section of the Chicago platform.

Mr. Lincoln left Pittsburg immediately after the delivery of this speech, being accompanied to the depot by an immense procession of the people of the city. The train reached Cleveland at half past four in the afternoon, where he was received by a long procession, which marched, amidst the roar of artillery, through the principal streets to the Weddell House, where Mr. Lincoln, in reply to an address of welcome from the Mayor, made the following remarks:

"It is with you, the people, to advance the great cause of the Union and the Constitution, and not with any one man. It rests with you alone. This fact is strongly impressed on my mind at present. In a community like this, whose appearance testifies to their intelligence, I am convinced that the cause of liberty and the Union can never be in danger. Frequent allusion is made to the excitement at present existing in our national politics, and it is as well that I should also allude to it here. I think that there is no occasion for any excitement. The crisis, as it is called, is altogether an artificial crisis. In all parts of the nation there are differences of opinion on politics. There are differences of opinion even here. You did not all vote for the person who now addresses you. What is happening now will not hurt those who are further away from here. Have they not all their rights now as they ever have had? Do they not have their fugitive slaves returned now as ever? Have they not the same Constitution that they have lived under for seventy odd years? Have they not a position as citizens of this common country, and have we any power to change that position? [Cries of 'No.'] What, then, is the matter with them? Why all this excitement? Why all these complaints? As I said before, this crisis is all artificial! It has no foundation in fact. It was not 'argued up,' as the

saying is, and cannot therefore be argued down. Let it alone, and it will go down of itself."

He had one more word to say. He was given to understand that this reception was tendered not only by his own party supporters, but by men of all parties. This is as it should be. If Judge Douglas had been elected, and had been here, on his way to Washington, as I am to-night, the Republicans should have joined his supporters in welcoming him, just as his friends have joined with mine to-night. If all do not join now to save the good old ship of the Union on this voyage, nobody will have a chance to pilot her on another voyage. He concluded by thanking all present for the devotion they had shown to the cause of the Union.

At Syracuse, where preparations had been made to give him a formal reception, he made the following remarks in reply to an address of welcome from the Mayor:

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—I see you have erected a very fine and handsome platform here for me, and I presume you expected me to speak from it. If I should go upon it, you would imagine that I was about to deliver you a much longer speech than I am. I wish you to understand that I mean no discourtesy to you by thus declining. I intend discourtesy to no one. But I wish you to understand that, though I am unwilling to go upon this platform, you are not at liberty to draw any inferences concerning any other platform with which my name has been or is connected. [Laughter and applause.] I wish you long life and prosperity individually, and pray that with the perpetuity of those institutions under which we have all so long lived and prospered, our happiness may be secured, our future made brilliant, and the glorious destiny of our country established forever. I bid you a kind farewell."

At Utica, an immense and enthusiastic assemblage of people from the surrounding country, had gathered to see him, but Mr. Lincoln contented himself by saying:

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—I have no speech to make to you, and no time to speak in. I appear before you that I may see you, and that you may see me; and I am willing to admit, that so far as the ladies are concerned, I have the best of the bargain, though I wish it to be understood that I do not make the same acknowledgment concerning the men. [Laughter and applause.]"

On his arrival at Albany, Mr. Lincoln was escorted to the Hall of Assembly, and there received a formal welcome from the Legislature, in reply to which, he made the following address:

"MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK:—It is with feelings of great diffidence, and I may say, feelings even of awe, perhaps greater than I have recently experienced, that I meet you here in this place. The history of this great State, the renown of its great men, who have stood in this chamber, and have spoken their thoughts, all crowd around my fancy, and incline me to shrink from an attempt to address you. Yet I have some confidence given me by the generous manner in which you have invited me, and the still more generous manner in which you have received me. You have invited me and received me without distinction of party. I could not for a moment suppose that this has been done in any considerable degree with any reference to my personal self. It is very much more grateful to me that this reception and the invitation preceding it, were given to me as the representative of a free people, than it could possibly have been were they but the evidence of devotion to me or to any one

man. It is true that, while I hold myself, without mock-modesty, the humblest of all the individuals who have ever been elected President of the United States, I yet have a more difficult task to perform than any one of them has ever encountered. You have here generously tendered me the support, the united support, of the great Empire State. For this, in behalf of the nation—in behalf of the present and of the future of the nation—in behalf of the cause of civil liberty in all time to come—I most gratefully thank you. I do not propose now to enter upon any expressions as to the particular line of policy to be adopted with reference to the difficulties that stand before us in the opening of the incoming administration. I deem that it is just to the country, to myself, to you, that I should see every thing, hear every thing, and have every light that can possibly be brought within my reach, to aid me before I shall speak officially, in order that, when I do speak, I may have the best possible means of taking correct and true grounds. For this reason, I do not now announce any thing in the way of policy for the new administration. When the time comes, according to the custom of the government, I shall speak, and speak as well as I am able, for the good of the present and of the future of this country—for the good of the North and of the South—for the good of one and of the other, and of all sections of it. In the meantime, if we have patience, if we maintain our equanimity, though some may allow themselves to run off in a burst of passion, I still have confidence that the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, through the instrumentality of this great and intelligent people, can and will bring us through this difficulty, as he has heretofore brought us through all preceding difficulties of the country. Relying upon this, and again thanking you, as I forever shall, in my heart, for this generous reception you have given me, I bid you farewell."

At Albany, he was met by a delegation from the city

authorities of New York, and on the 19th started for that city.

At Poughkeepsie, where great preparations had been made for his reception, he responded thus to an address from the Mayor:

"FELLOW CITIZENS:—It is altogether impossible I should make myself heard by any considerable portion of this vast assemblage; but, although I appear before you mainly for the purpose of seeing you, and to let you see, rather than hear me, I cannot refrain from saying that I am highly gratified,—as much here, indeed, under the circumstances, as I have been anywhere on my route,—to witness this noble demonstration—made, not in honor of an individual, but of the man who at this time humbly, but earnestly, represents the majesty of the nation. This reception, like all others that have been tendered to me, doubtless emanates from all the political parties, and not from one alone. As such, I accept it the more gratefully, since it indicates an earnest desire on the part of the whole people, without regard to political differences, to save—not the country, because the country will save itself—but to save the institutions of the country—those institutions under which, in the last three quarters of a century, we have grown to be a great, an intelligent, and a happy people—the greatest, the most intelligent, and the happiest people in the world. These noble manifestations indicate, with unerring certainty, that the whole people are willing to make common cause for this object; that if, as it ever must be, some have been successful in the recent election, and some have been beaten,—if some are satisfied, and some are dissatisfied, the defeated party are not in favor of sinking the ship, but are desirous of running it through the tempest in safety, and willing, if they think the people have committed an error in their verdict now, to wait in the hope of reversing it, and setting it right next time. I do not say that in the recent election the people

did the wisest thing that could have been done; indeed, I do not think they did; but I do say, that in accepting the great trust committed to me, which I do with a determination to endeavor to prove worthy of it, I must rely upon you, upon the people of the whole country, for support; and with their sustaining aid, even I, humble as I am, cannot fail to carry the ship of State safely through the storm.

"I have now only to thank you warmly for your kind attendance, and bid you all an affectionate farewell."

At Peekskill, in reply to a brief address from Judge Nelson, he said:

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—I have but a moment to stand before you, to listen to and return your kind greeting. I thank you for this reception, and for the pleasant manner in which it is tendered to me, by our mutual friend. I will say in a single sentence, in regard to the difficulties that lie before me and our beloved country, that if I can only be as generously and unanimously sustained, as the demonstrations I have witnessed indicate I shall be, I shall not fail; but without your sustaining hands I am sure that neither I, nor any other man, can hope to surmount these difficulties. I trust that in the course I shall pursue, I shall be sustained not only by the party that elected me, but by the patriotic people of the whole country.

The President-elect reached New York at 3 o'clock, and his reception there was one of the most interesting demonstrations ever witnessed in behalf of a single individual. Work generally was suspended. By noon the great thoroughfare of Broadway—down which the cortege would pass—became crowded with the outpouring multitude. Houses were lined with spectators; the "Stars and Stripes" hung from a thousand windows,

and floated from a thousand house-tops; banners were flung across the streets, bearing enlivening and patriotic inscriptions; the shipping in the harbor was decorated in all its various colors; handkerchiefs floated from innumerable windows and doors, while beauty and fashion shone out of casements like creations especially ordered to grace that Republican triumph. The crowd on the streets numbered several hundred thousand; but, so admirably were all arrangements made by the excellent police of the city, that no accident or "row" occurred to mar the quiet and pleasure of the afternoon. As the Presidential carriage passed down the street, the huzzas became deafening. The great lines of waving flags and handkerchiefs looked like ripples bursting and flying before the ship's prow, and scintillating and eddying in her wake. The President stood uncovered, bowing to the people, and acknowledging the welcome extended on every side. A reporter of one of the city journals wrote of the demonstration:

"We but reflect the popular opinion, when we say that the ovation was one of the grandest and most soul-stirring we have ever witnessed. Though the President-elect was evidently jaded, careworn, and oppressed with a weighty responsibility, he was also firm, self-possessed, and appeared equal to the stupendous task before him. He seemed to impress the people with this conviction, as he rode along, and a glimpse of his plain, straight-forward, honest face, so full of deep, earnest thought, of direct singleness of purpose, of thorough purity of motive and patriotic impulse, so won upon the multitude, that they burst into such spontaneous, irrepressible cheers, as gladdened the heart and moistened the eye, and made everybody forget the turbulence and anarchy of secession, now

raging in the land, in their implicit confidence in the coming man."

In the evening, he received a welcome from the various Republican associations which had participated in the election canvass, whom he thus addressed:

'MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:—I am rather an old man to avail myself of such an excuse as I am now about to do. Yet the truth is so distinct, and presses itself so distinctly upon me, that I cannot well avoid it—and that is, that I did not understand when I was brought into this room that I was brought here to make a speech. It was not intimated to me that I was brought into the room where Daniel Webster and Henry Clay had made speeches, and where, in my position, I might be expected to do something like those men, or do something worthy of myself or my audience. I, therefore, will beg you to make very great allowance for the circumstances in which I have been by surprise brought before you. Now, I have been in the habit of thinking and speaking sometimes upon political questions that have for some years past agitated the country; and, if I were disposed to do so, and we could take up some one of the issues, as the lawyers call them, and I were called upon to make an argument about it to the best of my ability, I could do so without much preparation. But, that is not what you desire to be done here to-night.

"I have been occupying a position since the Presidential election of silence, of avoiding public speaking, of avoiding public writing. I have been doing so, because I thought, upon full consideration, that was the proper course for me to take [Great applause.] I am brought before you now, and required to make a speech, when you all approve more than any thing else of the fact that I have been keeping silence. [Great laughter, cries of 'Good,' and applause.] And now it seems to me that the response you give to that remark ought to justify me in closing just here. [Great laughter.] I have not kept

silence since the Presidential election from any party wantonness, or from any indifference to the anxiety that pervades the minds of men about the aspect of the political affairs of this country. I have kept silence for the reason that I supposed it was peculiarly proper that I should do so until the time came when, according to the custom of the country, I could speak officially. [A voice—The custom of the country.] I heard some gentleman say, 'According to the custom of the country.' I alluded to the custom of the President-elect, at the time of taking the oath of office. That is what I meant by 'the custom of the country.' I do suppose that, while the political drama being enacted in this country, at this time, is rapidly shifting its scenes—forbidding an anticipation, with any degree of certainty, to-day, what we shall see to-morrow—it was peculiarly fitting that I should see it all, up to the last minute, before I should take ground that I might be disposed (by the shifting of the scenes afterwards) also to shift. [Applause.] I have said several times, upon this journey, and I now repeat it to you, that when the time does come, I shall then take the ground that I think is right—[applause]—the ground that I think is right—[applause, and cries of 'Good, good']—right for the north, for the south, for the east, for the west, for the whole country. [Cries of 'Good,' 'Hurrah for Lincoln,' and applause.] And in doing so, I hope to feel no necessity pressing upon me to say any thing in conflict with the Constitution; in conflict with the continued union of these States—[applause]—in conflict with the perpetuation of the liberties of this people—[applause]—or any thing in conflict with any thing whatever that I have ever given you reason to expect from me. [Applause.] And now, my friends, have I said enough? [Loud cries of 'No, no,' and three cheers for Lincoln.] Now, my friends, there appears to be a difference of opinion between you and me, and I really feel called upon to decide the question myself. [Applause, during which Mr. Lincoln descended from the table.]"

On the morning of the 20th Mr. Lincoln proceeded to the City Hall, where it had been arranged that he should have an official reception. He was addressed by Mayor Wood, a recognized Democrat of the strictest "States rights" and pro-slavery sect—in an "official welcome" as frigid as courtesy would permit. He simply read his august guest a brief lecture on his duty —presuming, with the usual impudence of Democrats of the pro-slavery school, that a "Black Republican" did not know what duty was. The President's reply was couched in a dignity and good taste quite in contrast with the want of both in his host.

"MR. LINCOLN: As Mayor of New York, it becomes my duty to extend to you an official welcome in behalf of the Corporation. In doing so permit me to say, that this city has never offered hospitality to a man clothed with more exalted powers, or resting under graver responsibilities, than those which circumstances have devolved upon you. Coming into office with a dismembered government to reconstruct, and a disconnected and hostile people to reconcile, it will require a high patriotism, and an elevated comprehension of the whole country and its varied interests, opinions, and prejudices, to so conduct public affairs as to bring it back again to its former harmonious, consolidated, and prosperous condition. If I refer to this topic, sir, it is because New York is deeply interested. The present political divisions have sorely afflicted her people. All her material interests are paralyzed. Her commercial greatness is endangered. She is the child of the American Union. She has grown up under its material care, and been fostered by its paternal bounty, and we fear that if the Union dies, the present supremacy of New York may perish with it. To you, therefore, chosen under the forms of the Constitution as the head of the Confederacy, we look for a restoration of

fraternal relations between the States—only to be accomplished by peaceful and conciliatory means, aided by the wisdom of Almighty God."

To this address Mr. Lincoln made the following reply:

"MR. MAYOR:—It is with feelings of deep gratitude that I make my acknowledgments for the reception that has been given me in the great commercial city of New York. I cannot but remember that it is done by the people who do not, by a large majority, agree with me in political sentiment. It is the more grateful to me, because in this I see that for the great principles of our government the people are pretty nearly or quite unanimous. In regard to the difficulties that confront us at this time, and of which you have seen fit to speak so becomingly and so justly, I can only say that I agree with the sentiments expressed. In my devotion to the Union, I hope I am behind no man in the nation. As to my wisdom in conducting affairs so as to tend to the preservation of the Union, I fear too great confidence may have been placed in me. I am sure I bring a heart devoted to the work. There is nothing that could ever bring me to consent—willingly to consent—to the destruction of this Union, in which not only the great city of New York, but the whole country, has acquired its greatness, unless it would be that thing for which the Union itself was made. I understand that the ship is made for the carrying and preservation of the cargo; and so long as the ship is safe with the cargo, it shall not be abandoned. This Union shall never be abandoned, unless the possibility of its existence shall cease to exist without the necessity of throwing passengers and cargo overboard. So long, then, as it is possible that the prosperity and liberties of the people can be preserved within this Union, it shall be my purpose at all times to preserve it. And now, Mr. Mayor, renewing my thanks for this cordial reception, allow me to come to a close." [Applause.]

A public introduction followed. For two hours the patient crowd passed the President, each person shaking him by the hand in hurried salutation. Many had a word to offer—to all of which the Chief Magistrate replied kindly. Returning to the "Astor," Mr. Lincoln received the leading men of the city and State, as well as those from all parts of the country. The Vice-President-elect, Mr. Hamlin, joined the President here. During the evening, the opera was visited, and his appearance in the stage-box was greeted by a perfect storm of applause. The curtain lifted, and the chorus came forward, while two celebrated singers sung the "Star-Spangled Banner," to the chorus of which the audience added its shouts of approval. "Hail Columbia" followed, with equal popular furore. *Un ballo in Maschera* was for a moment forgotten, and overwhelmed in the crude lyric. At the end of the second act of the opera the President and his escort returned to the "Astor," where Mrs. Lincoln was holding a reception.

On the morning of Thursday, the twenty-first, Mr. Lincoln left New York for Philadelphia, and on reaching Jersey City, was met and welcomed, on behalf of the State, by the Hon. W. L. Dayton.

At Newark he was welcomed by the Mayor, to whom he said:

"MR. MAYOR:—I thank you for this reception at the city of Newark. With regard to the great work of which you speak, I will say that I bring to it a heart filled with love for my country, and an honest desire to do what is right. I am sure, however, that I have not the ability to do any thing unaided of God, and that, without his support, and that of this free, happy, prosperous and intelligent people, no man can succeed

in doing that, the importance of which we all comprehend. Again thanking you for the reception you have given me, I will now bid you farewell, and proceed upon my journey."

At Trenton he remained a few hours, and visited both Houses of the Legislature. On being received in the Senate, he thus addressed that body:

"MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY:—I am grateful to you for the honorable reception of which I have been the object. I cannot but remember the place that New Jersey holds in our early history. In the early Revolutionary struggle, few of the States among the old thirteen had more of the battle-fields of the country within their limits than old New Jersey. May I be pardoned if, upon this occasion, I mention, that away back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read, I got hold of a small book, such a one as few of the younger members have ever seen, 'WEEMS'S *Life of Washington*.' I remember all the accounts there given of the battle-fields and struggles for the liberties of the country, and none fixed themselves upon my imagination so deeply as the struggle here at Trenton, New Jersey. The crossing of the river; the contest with the Hessians; the great hardships endured at that time; all fixed themselves on my memory more than any single revolutionary event. And you all know, for you have all been boys, how these early impressions last longer than any others. I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that these men struggled for. I am exceedingly anxious that that thing which they struggled for—that something even more than national independence—that something, that held out a great promise to all the people of the world to all time to come—I am exceedingly anxious that this Union, the Constitution, and the liberties of the people, shall be perpetuated, in accordance with the original idea for which that struggle was made. And I shall be most

happy indeed, if I shall be an humble instrument, in the hands of the Almighty and of this his most chosen people, as the chosen instrument, also in the hands of the Almighty, for perpetuating the object of that great struggle. You give me this reception, as I understand, without distinction of party. I learn that this body is composed of a majority of gentlemen who, in the exercise of their best judgment in the choice of a Chief Magistrate, did not think I was the man. I understand, nevertheless, that they come forward here to greet me as the constitutional President of the United States—as citizens of the United States, to meet the man who, for the time being, is the representative man of the nation—united by a purpose to perpetuate the Union and liberties of the people. As such, I accept this reception more gratefully than I could do, did I believe it was tendered to me as an individual."

Mr. Lincoln then passed to the Assembly Chamber, where, in reply to the Speaker, he said:

"MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN:—I have just enjoyed the honor of a reception by the other branch of this Legislature, and I return to you and them my thanks for the reception which the people of New Jersey have given through their chosen representatives to me, as the representative for the time being of the majesty of the people of the United States. I appropriate to myself very little of the demonstrations of respect with which I have been greeted. I think little should be given to any man, but that it should be a manifestation of adherence to the Union and the Constitution. I understand myself to be received here by the representatives of the people of New Jersey, a majority of whom differ in opinion from those with whom I have acted. This manifestation is, therefore, to be regarded by me as expressing their devotion to the Union, the Constitution, and the liberties of the people. You, Mr. Speaker, have well said that this is a time when the bravest and wisest look with doubt and awe upon the aspect presented

by our national affairs. Under these circumstances, you will readily see why I should not speak in detail of the course I shall deem it best to pursue. It is proper that I should avail myself of all the information and all the time at my command, in order that when the time arrives in which I must speak officially, I shall be able to take the ground which I deem the best and safest, and from which I may have no occasion to swerve. I shall endeavor to take the ground I deem most just to the North, the East, the West, the South, and the whole country. I take it, I hope, in good temper, certainly with no malice towards any section. I shall do all that may be in my power to promote a peaceful settlement of all our difficulties. The man does not live who is more devoted to peace than I am —[Cheers]—none who would do more to preserve it; but it may be necessary to put the foot down firmly. [Here the audience broke out into cheers, so loud and long that for some moments it was impossible to hear Mr. Lincoln's voice.] And if I do my duty and do right, you will sustain me, will you not? [Loud cheers, and cries of 'Yes, yes, we will!'] Received, as I am, by the members of a Legislature, the majority of whom do not agree with me in political sentiments, I trust that I may have their assistance in piloting the ship of State through this voyage, surrounded by perils as it is; for, if it should suffer wreck now, there will be no pilot ever needed for another voyage. Gentlemen, I have already spoken longer than I intended, and must beg leave to stop here."

The procession then moved to the Trenton House, where the President-elect made another speech to the assembled crowd.

On his arrival in Philadelphia, he was received with great enthusiasm, and the Mayor greeted him with an address, to which he replied as follows:

"MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA:—I appear before you to make no lengthy speech, but to thank you

for this reception. The reception you have given me to-night is not to me, the man, the individual, but to the man who temporarily represents, or should represent the majesty of the nation. [Cheers.] It is true, as your worthy Mayor has said, that there is anxiety amongst the citizens of the United States at this time. I deem it a happy circumstance that this dissatisfied position of our fellow-citizens does not point us to any thing in which they are being injured, or about to be injured, for which reason I have felt all the while justified in concluding that the crisis, the panic, the anxiety of the country at this time, is artificial. If there be those who differ with me upon this subject, they have not pointed out the substantial difficulty that exists. I do not mean to say that an artificial panic may not do considerable harm: that it has done such I do not deny. The hope that has been expressed by your Mayor, that I may be able to restore peace, harmony, and prosperity to the country, is most worthy of him; and happy, indeed, will I be if I shall be able to verify and fulfil that hope. [Tremendous cheering.] I promise you, in all sincerity, that I bring to the work a sincere heart. Whether I will bring a head equal to that heart will be for future times to determine. It were useless for me to speak of details of plans now; I shall speak officially next Monday week, if ever. If I should not speak then, it were useless for me to do so now. If I do speak then it is useless for me to do so now. When I do speak, I shall take such ground as I deem best calculated to restore peace, harmony, and prosperity to the country, and tend to the perpetuity of the nation and the liberty of these States and these people. Your worthy Mayor has expressed the wish, in which I join with him, that it were convenient for me to remain in your city long enough to consult your merchants and manufacturers; or, as it were, to listen to those breathings rising within the consecrated walls wherein the Constitution of the United States, and I will add the Declaration of Independence, were originally framed and adopted. [Enthusiastic applause.]

I assure you and your Mayor that I had hoped on this occasion, and upon all occasions during my life, that I shall do nothing inconsistent with the teachings of these holy and most sacred walls. I never asked any thing that does not breathe from these walls. All my political warfare has been in favor of the teachings that came forth from these sacred walls. May my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if ever I prove false to those teachings. Fellow-citizens, I have addressed you longer than I expected to do, and now allow me to bid you good-night."

On the next morning, Mr. Lincoln visited "Independence Hall," for the purpose of raising the national flag over it. Here he was received with a warm welcome, and made the following address:

"I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to the present distracted condition of the country. I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here, and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother land, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave

liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world, for all future time. [Great applause.] It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated upon this spot than surrender it. [Applause.] Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there need be no bloodshed or war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course, and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed, unless it be forced upon the government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defence. [Applause.]

"My friends, this is wholly an unexpected speech, and I did not expect to be called upon to say a word when I came here. I supposed it was merely to do something towards raising the flag—I may, therefore, have said something indiscreet. [Cries of 'No, no.'] I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, die by."

The party then proceeded to a platform erected in front of the State House, and the President-elect was invited, in a brief address, to raise the flag. He responded in a patriotic speech, announcing his cheerful compliance with the request. He alluded to the original flag of thirteen stars, saying that the number had increased as time rolled on and we became a happy, powerful people, each star adding to its prosperity. "The future," he added, "is in the hands of the people. It is on such an occasion we can reason together and re-

affirm our devotion to the country and the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Let us make up our minds that whenever we do put a new star upon our banner, it shall be a fixed one, never to be dimmed by the horrors of war, but brightened by the contentment and prosperity of peace. Let us go on to extend the area of our usefulness, and add star upon star until their light shall shine over five hundred millions of free and happy people." He then performed his part in the ceremony, amidst a thundering discharge of artillery.

In the afternoon he left for Harrisburg, Pa. At that place, Mr. Lincoln was escorted to the Legislature, and was welcomed by the presiding officers of the two houses, to whom he replied as follows:

"I appear before you only for a very few, brief remarks, in response to what has been said to me. I thank you most sincerely for this reception and the generous words in which support has been promised me upon this occasion. I thank your great Commonwealth for the overwhelming support it recently gave, not me personally, but the cause which I think a just one, in the late election. [Loud applause.] Allusion has been made to the fact—the interesting fact, perhaps, we should say—that I for the first time appear at the Capital of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania upon the birthday of the Father of his Country, in connection with that beloved anniversary connected with the history of this country. I have already gone through one exceedingly interesting scene this morning in the ceremonies at Philadelphia. Under the high conduct of gentlemen there, I was for the first time allowed the privilege of standing in old Independence Hall [enthusiastic cheering], to have a few words addressed to me there, and opening up to me an opportunity of expressing, with much regret, that I had not more time to express something of my own feelings, ex-

cited by the occasion, somewhat to harmonize and give shape to the feelings that had been really the feelings of my whole life. Besides this, our friends there had provided a magnificent flag of the country. They had arranged it so that I was given the honor of raising it to the head of its staff. [Applause.] And when it went up I was pleased that it went to its place by the strength of my own feeble arm, when, according to the arrangement, the cord was pulled, and it floated gloriously to the wind, without an accident, in the light, glowing sunshine of the morning. I could not help hoping that there was, in the entire success of that beautiful ceremony, at least something of an omen of what is to come. [Loud applause.] How could I help feeling then as I often have felt? In the whole of that proceeding I was a very humble instrument. I had not provided the flag; I had not made the arrangements for elevating it to its place; I had applied but a very small portion of my feeble strength in raising it. In the whole transaction I was in the hands of the people who had arranged it, and if I can have the same generous co-operation of the people of the nation, I think the flag of our country may yet be kept flaunting gloriously. [Loud, enthusiastic, and continued cheers.] I recur for a moment but to repeat some words uttered at the hotel, in regard to what has been said about the military support which the General Government may expect from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in a proper emergency. To guard against any possible mistake do I recur to this. It is not with any pleasure that I contemplate the possibility that a necessity may arise in this country for the use of the military arm. [Applause.] While I am exceedingly gratified to see the manifestation upon your streets of your military force here, and exceedingly gratified at your promises here to use that force upon a proper emergency—while I make these acknowledgments, I desire to repeat, in order to preclude any possible misconstruction, that I do most sincerely hope that we shall have no use for them. [Applause.] That it will never become

their duty to shed blood, and most especially never to shed fraternal blood. I promise that, so far as I may have wisdom to direct, if so painful a result shall in anywise be brought about, it shall be through no fault of mine. [Cheers.] Allusion has also been made by one of your honored speakers to some remarks recently made by myself at Pittsburg, in regard to what is supposed to be the especial interest of this great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I now wish only to say, in regard to that matter, that the few remarks which I uttered on that occasion were rather carefully worded. I took pains that they should be so. I have seen no occasion since to add to them, or subtract from them. I leave them precisely as they stand [applause], adding only now that I am pleased to have an expression from you, gentlemen of Pennsylvania, significant that they are satisfactory to you. And now, gentlemen of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, allow me to return you again my most sincere thanks."

After the delivery of this address, Mr. Lincoln devoted some hours to the reception of visitors, and at six o'clock retired to his room.

The next morning the whole country was fairly electrified by the announcement that he had arrived in Washington—twelve hours sooner than he had originally intended. His sudden departure, however, proved to have been a measure of precaution for which events subsequently disclosed afforded a full justification. For some time previous to his departure from home, threats had been current that he would never live to be inaugurated; and during his journey, an attempt was made on the Toledo and Western Railroad, on the 11th of February, to throw from the track the train on which he was journeying, and a hand grenade was found secreted on the train in which he left Cincinnati.

These and other circumstances led to an organized and thorough investigation, under the direction of a police detective, carried on with great skill and perseverance at Baltimore, and which resulted in disclosing the fact that a small gang of assassins had arranged to take his life during his passage through that city. General Scott and Mr. Seward, having both been apprised of the same fact through another source, sent Mr. F. W. Seward as a special messenger to Philadelphia, to meet the President-elect there, previous to his departure for Harrisburg, to give him notice of these circumstances. Mr. Lincoln, however, did not deviate from the programme he had marked out for himself, in consequence of these communications; except that, by the advice of friends, he anticipated by one train the time he was expected to arrive in Washington. He reached there on the morning of Saturday, the 23d.

The general scorn and laughter with which this transit was greeted by rebel sympathizers, and by the enemies of the incoming Administration, were more pretended than real. That it was a cloak to cover their disappointment, was rendered more probable by the fact that, from that time, it became their standing threat that the President-elect should never live to be inaugurated.

Mr. Lincoln's sudden advent took all by surprise. Preparations on a large scale had been made for his reception; the addresses of congratulation had been prepared; the military expected to act as his escort, the two Houses of Congress were to have an early adjournment, and the "coming man" was the absorbing topic of general remark. But all these preconcerted arrange-

ments were frustrated, by his unexpected and unheralded arrival in their midst.

"When it became known that he was in the city, his hotel was thronged—all anxious for a word with him who was to direct the destiny of the Republic for good or evil. But he remained inaccessible to all visitors. At eleven o'clock, in company with Mr. Seward, he called upon Mr. Buchanan. The surprise of the occupant of the White House was great; but, he gave his successor a very cordial greeting. The Cabinet being in session, Mr. Lincoln passed into its chamber, to the astonishment and delight of its members. A call was made upon General Scott, but the veteran was not on duty. Thus, dispensing with all official formality, the Republican President set a good example of republican simplicity of manners and kindness.

"During the remainder of the day he received visitors freely. All partisan feeling seemed to be forgotten, and Democrats vied with Republicans in their really genial welcome. Only the extreme southern men stood aloof; they had no word of felicitation for the man who, it was felt, would rule without fear, and prove faithful to his oath to 'sustain the Constitution and the laws.'

"In the evening, by appointment, Mr. Lincoln received the 'Peace Congress' members. The entire body was presented to him, and a cordial hour passed in an informal greeting. After the interview, the President was called upon to confront the ladies of Washington, who had congregated in the parlors of the hotel, to be introduced to a man of whose ugliness of feature and ungainliness of form they had heard so much,

Mr. Lincoln received them in a manner at once graceful and possessed. This closed his first day at the capital. Thereafter he was to enter upon the thorny field of administration. A Cabinet was to be chosen, Ministers to be selected, a settled policy to be drawn out of that fearful distraction. The brief interval of ten days prior to his inauguration, was to be the most trying of his experience; for the claims of persons to posts of honor—the rights of sections—the harmonization of conflicting interests—the disposition of places demanding a peculiar fitness—all were among those minor annoyances of administration which rendered the yoke any thing but easy to bear."

On Wednesday, the 27th, the Mayor and Common Council of the city, waited upon Mr. Lincoln, and tendered him a welcome. He replied to them as follows:

"MR. MAYOR:—I thank you, and through you the municipal authorities of this city who accompany you, for this welcome. And as it is the first time in my life since the present phase of politics has presented itself in this country, that I have said any thing publicly within a region of country where the institution of slavery exists, I will take this occasion to say, that I think very much of the ill-feeling that has existed and still exists, between the people in the sections from which I came, and the people here, is dependent upon a misunderstanding of one another. I therefore avail myself of this opportunity to assure you, Mr. Mayor, and all the gentlemen present, that I have not now, and never have had, any other than as kindly feelings towards you as the people of my own section. I have not now, and never have had, any disposition to treat you in any respect otherwise than as my own neighbors. I have not now any purpose to withhold from you any of the

benefits of the Constitution, under any circumstances, that I would not feel myself constrained to withhold from my own neighbors; and I hope, in a word, that when we shall become better acquainted, and I say it with great confidence, we shall like each other the more. I thank you for the kindness of this reception."

On the following evening the Republican Association tendered him a delightful serenade, at the conclusion of which, he made the following remarks to the assembled crowd:

"My Friends:—I suppose that I may take this as a compliment paid to me, and as such, please accept my thanks for it. I have reached this city of Washington under circumstances considerably differing from those under which any other man has ever reached it. I am here for the purpose of taking an official position amongst the people, almost all of whom were politically opposed to me, and are yet opposed to me as I suppose. I propose no lengthy address to you. I only propose to say, as I did on yesterday, when your worthy Mayor and Board of Aldermen called upon me, that I thought much of the ill-feeling that has existed between you and the people of your surroundings, and that people from amongst whom I came, has depended, and now depends, upon a misunderstanding.

"*I hope that, if things shall go along as prosperously as I believe we all desire they may, I may have it in my power to remove something of this misunderstanding; that I may be enabled to convince you, and the people of your section of the country, that we regard you as in all things our equals, and in all things entitled to the same respect and the same treatment that we claim for ourselves; that we are in nowise disposed, if it were in our power, to oppress you, to deprive you of any of your rights under the Constitution of the United States, or even narrowly to split hairs with you in regard to those rights, but are determined to give you, as far*

as lies in our hands, all your rights under the Constitution—not grudgingly, but fully and fairly. I hope that, by thus dealing with you, we will become better acquainted, and be better friends. And now, my friends, with these few remarks, and again returning my thanks for this compliment, and expressing my desire to hear a little more of your good music, I bid you good night."

This was the latest of Mr. Lincoln's public utterances previous to his inauguration.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE INAUGURATION TO THE EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1861.

The Inaugural Address.—Mr. Lincoln's first Cabinet.—Changes in the Departments.—Difficulties which surrounded the new Administration.—The attack on Fort Sumter.—Its effect, North and South.—The President's Proclamation.—The Northern States rally to the aid of the Government.—The troubles at Baltimore.—Mr. Lincoln's answer to the Committee of the Virginia Convention.—Preparations for War.—Foreign policy of the Administration.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Mr. Lincoln took the oath and assumed the duties of the Presidential office—duties which he had rightly characterized, on the eve of his departure from his home at Springfield, as "greater than had devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington." The conspiracy, which for thirty years had been sapping the virtue, and weakening the strength of the Republic, was now ready to throw off the mask, and to astonish the incredulous people of the North, and of the world, with the full development of a treason, such, as for extent, perfidy, and malignity, has never before been equalled in history.

The administration of James Buchanan, with its intensely southern sway in all branches of the National Government, was now at an end. During the four months that had intervened since the election of Mr. Lincoln, not a moment had been lost by the leaders of the now clearly developed scheme of revolt, in making energetic

preparation for its consummation. So well had they succeeded, by the aid of bold treason or of inert complicity at the national capital, that they felt assured of the full attainment of their object, almost without the hazard of a single campaign. While professing, however, to believe in the right of peaceable secession, and proclaiming their desire to be left unmolested in the execution of their revolutionary purposes, the chief conspirators were well aware that this immunity could only be gained by such use of the remaining days of the outgoing administration that the crisis should already be passed, or resistance to their treason be utterly ineffectual, when the new administration should begin. While industriously collecting the materials of war, they yet spared no efforts to bring about such a state of things as should insure either peaceful submission to their will, or a sure vantage ground for an appeal to arms.

In spite, however, of all that had been done by the arch-conspirators, to "fire the Southern heart," to the support of the proposed rebellion, "the people of the slave-holding States were by no means a unit in its support. Seven of those States, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Florida, and Louisiana, had passed secession ordinances and united in the establishment of a hostile Confederacy; but in nearly all of them a considerable portion of the people were opposed to the movement, while in all the remaining slaveholding States a very active canvass was carried on between the friends and the opponents of secession. In Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee especially, the Government of the United States was vindicated, and its

authority sustained by men of pre-eminent ability and of commanding reputation, and there seemed abundant reason for hoping that, by the adoption of prudent measures, the slaveholding section might be divided, and the Border Slave States retained in the Union. The authorities of the rebel Confederacy saw the importance of pushing the issue to an instant decision. Under their directions nearly all the forts, arsenals, dock-yards, custom-houses, etc., belonging to the United States, within the limits of the seceded States, had been seized and were held by representatives of the rebel government. The only forts in the South which remained in possession of the Union, were Forts Pickens, Taylor, and Jefferson, on the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, and preparations were far advanced for the reduction and capture of these. Officers of the army and navy from the South had resigned their commissions, and entered the rebel service. Civil officers representing the United States within the limits of the southern States, could no longer discharge their functions, and all the powers of that Government were practically paralyzed."

Such were the circumstances, then, under which Mr. Lincoln entered upon the duties of his office. It was his difficult task to withhold the Border States from joining the new Confederacy; to allay the irritation everywhere observable throughout both North and South; to rally the loyal sentiment of both sections, if it were possible, around himself, as preliminary to the great work of restoring the national authority over the length and breadth of the land.

The day of his inauguration was a beautiful one, and

despite the threats, so constantly reiterated for months past, that Mr. Lincoln should never be permitted to occupy the Presidential chair, and desperate as had been the plottings against his life, he appeared at the east portico of the capitol, and received, at the appointed time, the oath from the venerable Chief Justice Taney. He then delivered the following:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES:—In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you, to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

"I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the southern States, that, by the accession of a Republican administration, their property and their peace, and personal security, are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.' I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this and made many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"'*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.'

"I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming administration.

"I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

"There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

"'No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

"It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law.

"All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as well as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause 'shall be delivered up,' their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

'There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done; and should any one, in any case, be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

"Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in the civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?'

"I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypocritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

"It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and very distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties.

"A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not ex-

pressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

"Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it —break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself.

"The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of the Confederation, in 1778; and, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution, was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

"It follows, from these views, that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

"I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and, to the extent of my

ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, which I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

"I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union, that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

"In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it is forced upon the national authority.

"The power confided to me *will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government,* and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people any where.

"Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object. While the strict legal right may exist of the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices.

"The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union.

"So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

"The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually

existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

"That there are persons, in one section or another, who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny. But if there be such, I need address no word to them.

"To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak, before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes? Would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step, while any portion of the certain ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted, that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this.

"Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly-written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly-written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution; it certainly would, if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case.

"All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authorities?

The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

"If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

"A majority held in restraint by constitutional check and limitation, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a majority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible. So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism, in some form, is all that is left.

"I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to a very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government; and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be

erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.

"At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, unless having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

"Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the Judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink, to decide cases properly brought before them; and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended; and this is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate; we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced,

and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

"I will venture to add, that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse. I understand that a proposed amendment to the Constitution (which amendment, however, I have not seen) has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have

said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

"The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves, also, can do this if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people. By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

"My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.

"If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it.

"Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either.

"If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties.

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you.

"You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend' it.

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection.

"The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

This address was delivered in tones distinctly audible to the vast throng who surrounded the President, and, almost before the echo of his voice had faded from their hearing, the telegraph and the printing press carried it to the homes and the hearts of his countrymen in other parts of the Union. To the people, it brought the welcome assurance that imbecility, double-dealing and treachery, no longer held sway over the nation; that the new President was determined to maintain the national integrity; and that, while faithful to his official oath, he would use every lawful and reasonable means to avert the evils of domestic war. He had,

indeed, suggested the desirability of a national constitutional convention, with power to adjust all questions at issue, even including peaceable separation, in a lawful manner, by a change of the organic law; and, while demonstrating unanswerably the utter causelessness of war, he had distinctly placed the whole responsibility of its commencement upon the conspirators themselves. He laid down a line of policy which, if it had only been met in a corresponding spirit on the other side, would have averted disastrous years of bloodshed. In thus announcing his views, he also plainly indicated, that the benefits secured by the Constitution to any portion of the people could not be claimed by them while trampling that instrument under foot, and as plainly notified the malcontents that they need expect no immunities, under the assurances given on this or any other occasion, inconsistent with the changed condition of affairs, if they should madly appeal to arms.

The whole address, while breathing an earnest yearning for an honorable peace, did not, however, like the unfortunate message of his predecessor of the previous December, base the desire on a confessed helplessness of the government, or an indisposition to exert its power of self-preservation. Men felt that a new political era had dawned, and breathed more freely, even in the face of the dangers which encompassed the republic. They saw that Mr. Lincoln had carefully studied the situation of affairs, and that he was prepared to bring all the powers of his sterling good sense and comprehensive practical judgment to the mastery of the problem to be solved by him as the head of the nation. They fully appreciated the rare foresight and

skill in briefly presenting the true questions at issue, in their proper bearings, and the calm, candid appeal to the nation, in all its parts, in behalf of law, order and peace, which made this *the wisest utterance of the time.* It has been well said of the address, that "whoever would acquaint himself with the inmost traits of Mr. Lincoln's character, as a public man, and at the same time discover, in honest and plain words, a statement in advance of the fundamental principles by which his administration was afterward guided, let him carefully study this paper, every sentence of which is full of meaning."

But, of course, in the southern and border States there were thousands of scheming minds ready to misconstrue and misrepresent *any* inaugural address which the new President might chance to present. Every effort was therefore made to spread through the border States the idea that the inaugural was intended as a covert declaration of war upon the southern States; and many of these efforts were more or less successful in the accomplishment of their object.

The first act of Mr. Lincoln, of course, was to appoint his cabinet, the construction of which had been perhaps substantially settled in his own mind before he left Illinois. "The position occupied by Mr. Seward before the country, was such as to leave no hesitation as to the propriety of offering him the highest place of honor under the Executive, as Secretary of State. This position, was at an early day placed at Mr. Seward's disposal. The office of Attorney-General was, with like promptitude, tendered to Judge Bates, of Missouri, whose leading position as a southern statesman with

anti-slavery tendencies, of the Clay school, had caused his name to be prominently and widely used in connection with the Presidency before the nomination for that office, made at Chicago. Governor Chase, of Ohio, who had recently been elected to a second term in the Senate, after four years of useful and popular service in the executive chair of his State, perhaps quite as early occurred to the mind of Mr. Lincoln as a man specially fitted to manage the finances of the nation through the troublous times that were felt to be approaching. This difficult post Mr. Chase surrendered his seat in the Senate to accept. Mr. Cameron, of Pennsylvania, selected as Secretary of War, Mr. Welles, of Connecticut, as Secretary of the Navy, and Mr. Montgomery Blair,* of Maryland, as Postmaster-General, were all leading representatives of the Democratic element of the party which had triumphed in the late election. Mr. Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, a contemporary of Mr. Lincoln in Congress, and for years one of the most distinguished Whig politicians of the West, was tendered the place of Secretary of the Interior, which he accepted."

The Senate having confirmed all these nominations,

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* It is worthy of remark that John Bell, of Tennessee, who had received a large popular vote at the Presidential election, and whose strength in the electoral college made him the third of four Presidential nominees, was at this time in Washington, and his appointment to a place in the cabinet, as a loyal border State man, was desired by many, especially in the West. But Mr. Blair, an avowed anti-slavery man, and one of the most radical of Republicans, was preferred to Mr. Bell, a zealous partizan opponent, and one whose unreliable character, as developed by his sudden defection to the rebel cause, President Lincoln was not slow to perceive.

the gentlemen immediately entered upon the discharge of their duties.

One of the first and most difficult duties of the new President, was to institute a thorough "sifting out" of all the disloyal or doubtful men occupying responsible positions. The departments and the city were filled with sympathizers with the rebellion, whose intimate knowledge of affairs enabled them to communicate information of every movement inaugurated, and even of the avowed purposes or plans of every high officer of the government, civil or military. Men who had always been deemed trustworthy, were afterwards found to have been in complicity with the traitors, and not a few holding military commissions, were regarded as doubtful; so that, for a time, it was uncertain how far any one, with a few noble exceptions, in the responsible places, in army or navy, could be relied on in the emergencies which were constantly arising. And yet no practical measures could well be adopted, until the different branches of government were thoroughly purged of treason. The President, however, fully appreciated his surroundings, and knowing how rampant the whole community was with disloyalty, how every department was filled with spies in the service of the enemy, and scarcely knowing whom to trust, or where to lean for aid and counsel, wisely kept his own counsel.

Inexperienced as he was in military affairs, he had the ready advice and faithful service of the illustrious head of the army, Lieutenant-General Scott. True and loyal as that veteran general was, however, his political sympathies had never gone with the Repub-

lican party, while his Virginian birth and associations led him to shrink from every appearance of attempted coercion. It is no secret that General Scott openly and earnestly advocated the evacuation of Fort Sumter—on military, if not also on political grounds; and it is believed that he converted nearly every cabinet minister to his views.

The President, however, while adjusting his new agencies, and learning the spirit of the men about him, in the army and in the navy; as well as awaiting, with attentive eye, the developments of opinion and action, in both sections, allowed the consideration of this question to be continued, from day to day, without indicating his purpose. The emissaries who waited here on their false diplomatic mission were kept duly apprised, through traitorous channels, of the opinions of General Scott and the deliberations of the Cabinet; and they constantly communicated with the leaders at home; it being deemed expedient to allow, during all this period, free intercourse by mail and telegraph. The result was a general impression at the South—for which no word of the Chief Executive ever gave any warrant, although he obviously had no occasion to correct any such misconception—that Fort Sumter was to be evacuated, and that no attempt would be made to reinforce Fort Pickens.

On the 12th of March, Messrs. Forsyth, of Alabama, and Crawford, of Georgia, appeared in Washington, as commissioners from the self-styled "Confederacy," and requested an unofficial interview with the Secretary of State. This, as well as a subsequent proposition on their part to negotiate for the adjustment of all questions

arising from the separation of the southern States, was declined by Mr. Seward, at the direction of the President; because it "could not be admitted that the States referred to had, in law or fact, withdrawn from the Federal Union, or that they could do so in any other manner than with the consent and concert of the people of the United States, to be given through a national convention to be assembled in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States." This refusal was immediately made the pretext for precipitating the impending revolution by an act which, it was believed, would unite all the southern States in support of the Confederacy. On the day of its receipt, the 8th of April, General Beauregard telegraphed from Charleston, S. C., to the rebel Secretary of War, at Montgomery, Alabama, that "an authorized messenger from President Lincoln had just informed Governor Pickens and himself, that provisions would be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise, by force." He was instructed to demand the surrender of the fort, which he did on the 11th, and was promptly informed by Major Anderson, then in command, that his "sense of honor and his obligations to his government, prevented his compliance." On the night of the same day, Beauregard wrote to Major Anderson, by orders of his government, that if he "would state the time at which he would evacuate Fort Sumter" (as it was known that it must soon be evacuated for lack of provisions) "and will agree that, in the meantime, you will not use your guns against us unless ours shall be employed against Fort Sumter, we will abstain from opening fire upon you." At half-past two in the morning of the 12th, Major

Anderson replied that he would evacuate the fort by noon on the 15th, abiding, meantime, by the terms proposed, unless he should "receive, prior to that, controlling instructions from his government, or additional supplies." But the impatience of the rebels could not be restrained; and, in reply to this note, he was notified at half-past three, that their batteries would open upon the fort in one hour from that time. This they did, and after a bombardment of thirty-three hours, gallantly sustained by Anderson and his little band of heroes, only seventy in number—the fort was evacuated on Sabbath morning, the 14th of April, 1861.

As the news of the attack on Sumter flashed over the country, an intense and universal excitement was aroused in both sections. Its effect was, in some respects, precisely what had been anticipated by the rebel leaders, and in other respects, it must have seriously disappointed their hopes. The South, it is needless to say, was intoxicated with exultation; the southern heart was, at last, on fire, and the slight conservative element which had struggled against secession, was immediately swept away. At the North, however, incredulity was followed by a burst of indignation—all party lines were, for the moment, broken down,—and the people, arising in the majesty of their strength, rallied around the "Old Flag," in support of the "Constitution and the enforcement of the laws."

The President, regarding it as an armed attack upon the government of the United States, in support of the combination which had been organized into a Confederacy to resist and destroy its authority, saw at once that

it could be met and defeated only by a force placed in his hands for the maintenance of that authority.

Whatever could be done to avert this final step, had been patiently, kindly, sincerely done by Abraham Lincoln. Truthful history will record this of him, through all ages, to his lasting praise. No rough passion, no fretful impatience, no revengeful impulse, ever ruffled his spirit during all these days of suspense. But the gauntlet was at length thrown down, and no alternative was left but to meet force with force.

All incredulity which may have existed in northern minds as to the actual commencement of hostilities, or as to the purposes of the Executive in this momentous juncture, were dispelled when the public journals of Monday morning, April 15th, displayed conspicuously the following

PROCLAMATION:—*By the President of the United States.*

"WHEREAS, The laws of the United States have been for some time past, and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law: Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of seventy-five thousand, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

"The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department. I

appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our national Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured. I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth, will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens of any part of the country; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, within twenty days from this date.

"Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both houses of Congress. The Senators and Representatives are, therefore, summoned to assemble at their respective chambers at twelve o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as in their wisdom the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this fifteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

Right promptly and gloriously did the people respond to this proclamation. Scarcely a voice throughout the North was raised against this measure, which was felt to be so clearly an absolute necessity of self-defence on

the part of the government. From every northern State, and from private persons as well as Legislatures, came the offer of men, arms and money, in unstinted profusion, for the defence and support of the government. Massachusetts was first in the field, and within twenty-four hours after the issue of the proclamation, her Sixth Regiment, fully equipped, was on the road to the national capital; while, within the next forty-eight hours, two more regiments were made ready and departed to the same point. The Sixth, in its march through Baltimore on the 19th, was attacked by a mob of secessionists, and several of its members were killed or severely wounded. This added fuel to the excitement which already pervaded the country. The northern section of the Union felt outraged that troops should be assailed and murdered on their way to protect the capital of the nation. In Maryland, where the secession party was strong, there was also great excitement; and the Governor of the State and the Mayor of Baltimore united in urging, for prudential reasons, that no more troops should be brought through that city. To their representations the President made the following reply:

"WASHINGTON, *April* 29, 1861.

"GOVERNOR HICKS AND MAYOR BROWN:

"GENTLEMEN: Your letter by Messrs. Bond, Dobbin, and Brune is received. I tender you both my sincere thanks for your efforts to keep the peace in the trying situation in which you are placed.

"For the future, troops must be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them through Baltimore. Without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave details to General Scott. He hastily said this morning, in the presence

of these gentlemen, 'March them around Baltimore and not through it.' I sincerely hope the General, on fuller reflection, will consider this practical and proper, and that you will not object to it. By this, a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided, unless they go out of their way to seek it. I hope you will exert your influence to prevent this.

"Now and ever I shall do all in my power for peace consistently with the maintenance of the government.

"Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN."

In response to a similar request from Governor Hicks, accompanied by a suggestion that the controversy between the North and South might be referred to Lord Lyons, the British Minister, for arbitration, President Lincoln, through the Secretary of State, made the following reply:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *April 22d*, 1861.

"HIS EXCELLENCY THOS. H. HICKS, *Governor of Maryland:*

"SIR: I have had the honor to receive your communication of this morning, in which you inform me that you have felt it to be your duty to advise the President of the United States to order elsewhere the troops then off Annapolis, and also that no more may be sent through Maryland; and that you have further suggested that Lord Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties in our country, to prevent the effusion of blood.

"The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of that communication, and to assure you that he has weighed the counsels it contains with the respect which he habitually cherishes for the Chief Magistrates of the several States, and especially for yourself. He regrets, as deeply as any magistrate or citizen of this country can, that demonstrations against the safety of the United States, with very extensive preparations

for the effusion of blood, have made it his duty to call out the forces to which you allude.

"The force now sought to be brought through Maryland, is intended for nothing but the defence of the capital. The President has necessarily confided the choice of the national highway which that force shall take in coming to this city to the Lieutenant-General commanding the Army of the United States, who like his only predecessor, is not less distinguished for his humanity, than for his loyalty, patriotism, and distinguished public service.

"The President instructs me to add, that the national highway thus selected by the Lieutenant-General has been chosen by him, upon consultation with prominent magistrates and citizens of Maryland, as the one which, while a route is absolutely necessary, is farthest removed from the populous cities of the State, and with the expectation that it would therefore be the least objectionable one.

"The President cannot but remember that there has been a time in the history of our country when a general of the American Union, with forces designed for the defence of its capital, was not unwelcome anywhere in the State of Maryland and certainly not at Annapolis, then, as now, the capital of that patriotic State, and then, also, one of the capitals of the Union.

"If eighty years could have obliterated all the other noble sentiments of that age in Maryland, the President would be hopeful, nevertheless, that there is one that would forever remain there and everywhere. That sentiment is, that no domestic contention whatever that may arise among the parties of this republic, ought in any case to be referred to any foreign arbitrament, least of all to the arbitrament of a European monarchy.

"I have the honor to be, with distinguished consideration, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD."

It was, however, subsequently agreed between General Scott and the Maryland authorities that troops should be forwarded by way of Annapolis, until peace and order were restored in Baltimore, when the regular use of the highway through that city was resumed.

Such were the initial steps by which the government sought to repel the attempt of the rebel Confederacy to overthrow its authority by force of arms, and its action was at that time wholly defensive. The declarations of rebel officials, as well as the language of the southern press, indicated very clearly their intention to push the war into the North. Jefferson Davis had pledged himself, more than a month previous, that whenever the war should open, the North and not the South should be the field of battle. At a popular demonstration held at Montgomery, Ala., on hearing that fire had been opened upon Sumter, L. P. Walker, the rebel Secretary of War, had said, that while "no man could tell where the war would end, he would prophesy that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here, would *float over the dome of the old capitol at Washington* before the first of May," and that it "might float eventually over Faneuil Hall itself." The rebel government had gone forward with great vigor to make good these predictions. Volunteers were summoned to the field. Besides garrisoning the fortresses in their possession along the southern coast, a force of nearly twenty thousand men was pushed rapidly forward to Virginia. A loan of eight millions of dollars was raised, and Davis issued a proclamation offering letters of marque to all persons who might desire to aid the rebel government and enrich themselves by depredations upon the rich and extended

commerce of the United States. The South thus plunged openly and boldly into a war of aggression; and the President, in strict conformity with the declaration of his inaugural, put the government upon the defensive, and limited the military operations of the moment to the protection of the capital.

The week following the President's proclamation was crowded with important events. Public meetings were held all through the loyal States, and the response to the call for troops was hearty and universal. The spirit already roused throughout the country was greatly intensified by the attempts of the secession mob in Baltimore to prevent the passage of the Massachusetts Sixth through that city. Enlistments followed with such rapidity that it was soon only a question whose services should be declined, of the tens of thousands offering themselves.

"The city of Washington, an object of threatened attack, and thronged with people, who either openly proclaimed their hostility to the government, or were of doubtful fidelity, was full of excitement—liable at any moment to an *emeute* or to an irruption of rebel troops already in the field in Virginia. Alexandria was in their possession, or easily accessible at any moment from Richmond. Rumors were current of an immediate intention on the part of the Confederate leaders to occupy Arlington Heights, completely commanding the city, while as yet only a few companies of the regular service, with two or three light field batteries, were in Washington for its defence. To these were added a few hundred volunteer militia, made up chiefly of transient sojourners at the capital. A few dragoons, with a detachment of artillery, guarded the Long

Bridge, and the Navy Yard and other portions of the city had a small guard of extemporized infantry. There was also a single company of sappers and miners, under Lieutenant (now General) Weitzel. Thus passed an anxious week, while every exertion was made by the government and its loyal supporters to assemble an adequate defensive force. How easily the place might have been taken, with not one of the present numerous and strong fortifications, with no army but half a dozen scattered companies of infantry, cavalry and artillery, and with so large a number within ready to rise and give active welcome to the assailing force they so eagerly expected, need not here be discussed. From one extremity of the country to the other, the danger was seen and felt. The few days needful, fortunately were gained."

Harper's Ferry, threatened by the rebel enemy, was abandoned by the small United States force there, after destroying the arsenal and other important government property; and almost simultaneously, two New England regiments, despatched by wise forethought, arrived at Fortress Monroe, and secured a permanent occupation of that strong position in the Old Dominion, which had now become (without waiting for the consummation of the farce of a popular vote under duress) the eighth State of the rebel Confederacy.

The route by Annapolis was opened by General Butler and his Massachusetts force, and on the 25th of April troops from the North began to pour into Washington, relieving all immediate anxiety. The people had nobly responded. The "great uprising" was an assured event.

The foremost purpose of government was strictly a defensive one. To protect the capital first of all—for in the flush of triumph over the reduction of Fort Sumter, the determination to take Washington was boldly avowed, alike by the rebel Secretary of War and by the organs of public opinion everywhere in the insurrectionary States—was the object aimed at by the President, and energetically undertaken by General Scott. Secondary to this, and a labor for the future, was the reoccupation and repossession of Federal forts and Federal property already seized by the rebels, and the retention of such as were threatened, as distinctly promised by the President in his inaugural address—forcibly now, since the peaceable alternative was no longer possible. The blockade by sea, and a defensive campaign by land, were immediate steps recommended by the General-in-Chief, and adopted by the Administration.

On the 27th, the following new military departments were announced, under command of able generals:

1. The Department of Washington, including the District of Columbia and the adjacent country, and the State of Maryland as far as Bladensburgh, inclusive; under the command of General J. K. F. Mansfield—headquarters at Washington. 2. The Department of Annapolis, including the country for twenty miles on each side of the railroad from Annapolis to the city of Washington, as far as Bladensburgh; under the command of General B. F. Butler—headquarters at Annapolis. 3. The Department of Pennsylvania, including that State, the State of Delaware, and all of the State of Maryland not embraced within the depart-

ments first named; under command of General Robert Patterson—headquarters at Philadelphia. This organization of departments indicates the field of contemplated military operations in the East. The Department of Washington extended no further southward than the old limits of the District of Columbia, an extension into Virginia only for the obvious purpose of including Alexandria and Arlington Heights, as essential to the defences of the capital.

To these departments were added a fourth, on the 10th day of May, including the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, under the command of General George B. McClellan—headquarters at Cincinnati; a department manifestly organized with a view to the maintenance of a defensive line, on the Ohio river, from Wheeling to Cairo.

It is especially worthy of note, that Mr. Lincoln, with a magnanimity which saw only an endangered country, and which desired only its safety, had placed at the head of three of these important departments three of his most decided political opponents—Patterson, Butler, and McClellan.

The State of Virginia, which had hitherto hung back from fully committing herself to the cause of secession, was now "goaded" by a demand from Governor Pickens of South Carolina, as to what course she intended to take in the war they had just commenced, and in which they were determined to triumph or perish. Thus urged, the State Convention sent a committee to Washington to inquire of the President what his intentions were towards the southern States. To this inquiry Mr. Lincoln returned the following reply:

"To Hon. Messrs. Preston, Stuart, and Randolph:

"Gentlemen: As a committee of the Virginia Convention, now in session, you present me a preamble and resolution in these words:

"'*Whereas*, In the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue towards the seceded States, is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country, tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of the pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace; therefore,

"'*Resolved*, That a committee of three delegates be appointed to wait on the President of the United States, present to him this preamble, and respectfully ask him to communicate to this Convention the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States.'

"In answer I have to say, that having, at the beginning of my official term, expressed my intended policy as plainly as I was able, it is with deep regret and mortification I now learn there is great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what that policy is, and what course I intend to pursue. Not having as yet seen occasion to change, it is now my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the inaugural address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document as the best expression I can give to my purposes. As I then and therein said, I now repeat, 'The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what is necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.' By the words 'property and places belonging to the government,' I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which were in possession of the government when it came into my hands. But if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places,

an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess it, if I can, like places which had been seized before the government was devolved upon me; and in any event I shall, to the best of my ability, repel force by force. In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall, perhaps, cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the States which claim to have seceded, believing that the commencement of actual war against the government justifies and possibly demands it. I scarcely need to say that I consider the military posts and property situated within the States which claim to have seceded, as yet belonging to the government of the United States as much as they did before the supposed secession. Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country; not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort upon the border of the country. From the fact that I have quoted a part of the inaugural address, it must not be inferred that I repudiate any other part, the whole of which I reaffirm, except so far as what I now say of the mails may be regarded as a modification.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

On the seventeenth, the State of Virginia seceded, by a vote of eighty-eight to fifty-five; and on the twenty-first of May, the capital of the rebel government was transferred to Richmond. Virginia having thus been carried out of the Union, about this time, by fraud, terrorism and violence, other slave States followed her example; and hence, on the 27th of April, the blockade of rebel ports was extended, by proclamation, to Virginia and North Carolina. The rebel authorities, however, were not as successful in their strenuous endeavors to secure the adhesion of Maryland, Kentucky,

Tennessee and Missouri to the Confederacy—all of which but Tennessee, were, by the wise forbearance of the President's earlier measures, held aloof from active participation in the secession movement.

North and South now devoted the months of May and June to active and vigorous preparations for the inevitable conflict awaiting them. In the rebel States over one hundred thousand troops had been raised, and a large portion of them had been massed near the northern border. Meanwhile, the government of the United States, on the 20th of April, seized all the despatches which had accumulated in the telegraph offices during the preceding year, for the purpose of detecting movements in aid of the conspiracy. The ports of North Carolina and Virginia were included within the blockade established along the southern coast, and on the third of May the President issued a proclamation calling into the service of the United States forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers for three years, and ordering an addition of twenty-two thousand one hundred and fourteen, officers and men, to the regular army, and eighteen thousand seamen to the navy. On the sixteenth, by another proclamation, he directed the commander of the United States forces in Florida to "permit no person to exercise any office or authority upon the islands of Key West, the Tortugas, and Santa Rosa, which may be inconsistent with the laws and Constitution of the United States—authorizing him, at the same time, if he shall find it necessary, to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and to remove from the vicinity of the United States fortresses all dangerous or suspected persons."

It would be idle to attempt a succinct narration, within the limits of this volume, of the multitude of orders, proclamations, etc., which followed each other in rapid succession after the commencement of hostilities. We must confine our record to a synopsis, if we would keep our subject of biography in view.

One of the first duties of the new administration was to define the position to be taken by the government of the United States towards foreign nations in view of the rebellion. The attitude which the President decided to assume, is very distinctly set forth in the letter of instructions prepared by the Secretary of State for Mr. Adams, on the eve of his departure for the court of St. James, and dated April 10, in the following terms:

"Before considering the arguments you are to use, it is important to indicate those which you are not to employ in executing that mission.

"*First.* The President has noticed, as the whole American people have, with much emotion, the expression of good-will and friendship towards the United States, and of concern for their present embarrassments, which have been made, on apt occasions, by her Majesty and her ministers. You will make due acknowledgment for these manifestations, but at the same time you will not rely on any mere sympathies or national kindness. You will make no admission of weakness in our Constitution, or of apprehension on the part of the government. You will rather prove, as you easily can by comparing the history of our country with that of other States, that its Constitution and government are really the strongest and surest which have ever been erected for the safety of any people. You will in no case listen to any suggestions of compromise by this government, under foreign auspices, with its discontented citizens. If, as the President does not at all apprehend, you

shall unhappily find her Majesty's government tolerating the application of the so-called seceding States, or wavering about it, you will not leave them to suppose for a moment that they can grant that application and remain the friends of the United States. *You may even assure them promptly, in that case, that if they determine to recognize, they may at the same time prepare to enter into alliance with the enemies of this republic. You alone will represent your country at London, and you will represent the whole of it there. When you are asked to divide that duty with others, diplomatic relations between the government of Great Britain and this government will be suspended, and will remain so until it shall be seen which of the two is most strongly intrenched in the confidence of their respective nations and of mankind.*

"You will not be allowed, however, even if you were disposed, as the President is sure you will not be, to rest your opposition to the application of the Confederate States on the ground of any favor this Administration, or the party which chiefly called it into existence, proposes to show to Great Britain, or claims that Great Britain ought to show them. You will not consent to draw into debate before the British Government any opposing moral principles which may be supposed to lie at the foundation of the controversy between those States and the Federal Union.

"You will indulge in no expressions of harshness or disrespect, or even impatience, concerning the seceding States, their agents, or their people. But you will, on the contrary, all the while remember that those States are now, as they always heretofore have been, and, notwithstanding their temporary self-delusion, they must always continue to be, equal and honored members of this Federal Union, and that their citizens throughout all political misunderstandings and alienations, still are and always must be, our kindred and countrymen. In short, all your arguments must belong to one of three classes, namely: *First.* Arguments drawn from the principles of public law and natural justice, which regulate the intercourse of equal States. *Secondly.* Arguments which concern equally the honor, welfare,

and happiness of the discontented States, and the honor, welfare, and happiness of the whole Union. *Thirdly.* Arguments which are equally conservative of the rights and interests, and even sentiments of the United States, and just in their bearing upon the rights, interests, and sentiments of Great Britain and all other nations."

Previously, however, to the arrival of Mr. Adams at London, the British and French governments, acting in concert, had determined to recognize the rebels as a belligerent power; and on the 15th of June, their representatives at Washington requested an interview with the Secretary of State, to communicate to him the fact of this decision. This document, although submitted to his private perusal, Mr. Seward declined altogether to hear, or to receive officially. Mr. Adams was instructed to protest against this recognition of the South as belligerents, and in all diplomatic intercourse with foreign governments, from that time to the present, the action of the seceding States was treated as rebellion, purely domestic in its character, upon the nature or merits of which it would be unbecoming in us to hold any discussion with any foreign power. Upon all those governments the duty of accepting this view of the question, and of abstaining, consequently, from every act which could be construed into any recognition of the rebel Confederacy, or which could embarrass the government of the United States in its endeavors to re-establish its rightful authority, was constantly and firmly pressed. "*You cannot be too decided or explicit.*" was the uniform language of the Secretary, "*in making known to the government that there is not now, nor has there been, nor will there be, the least idea existing in this government, of suffering a dissolution of this Union to take place in any way whatever.*"

CHAPTER X.

THE EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS, AND THE FIRST UNFOLDINGS OF THE POLICY OF EMANCIPATION.

The Extra Session of Congress.—Mr. Lincoln's first Annual Message.—He is strongly sustained by the action of Congress, and the sentiment of the people.—The disastrous Battle of Bull Run, July 21st, 1861.—General McClellan succeeds General Scott in command of the National armies.—General Butler's theory and practice in regard to fugitive slaves applying for protection.—He decides them to be "contraband of war."—His view indorsed by Government.—Fremont issues an Emancipation Proclamation.—It is vetoed by the President.—The Trent affair, and its results.

In accordance with the President's proclamation of the 15th of April, Congress convened in extra session on the 4th of July, 1861; both Houses being strongly Republican. On the 5th, the President sent in his first annual message. In this able document, which we lack space to reproduce in full, Mr. Lincoln gives a concise statement of the critical situation of affairs at the time when he entered upon the duties of his office; reviews the circumstances under which hostilities were commenced, and thus briefly sets forth the course which he had endeavored to pursue towards the rebellious States, until their open act of bloodshed had compelled him to sterner measures.

"Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such attempt to destroy the

Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made, and was declared in the inaugural address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the government, and to collect the revenue, relying for the rest on time, discussion, and the ballot-box. It promised a continuance of the mails, at government expense, to the very people who were resisting the government; and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbance to any of the people, or any of their rights. Of all that which a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case, every thing was forborne, without which it was believed possible to keep the government on foot."

This conciliatory policy, however, had been in vain. The madness of the leaders of the insurrectionary movement had hurried them on in their wild schemes, until the foul crime of Sumter's bombardment set at naught any further efforts at conciliation and peace.

"The assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter, 'says the President,' was in no sense a matter of self-defence on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew—they were expressly notified—that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that this government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but to maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution—trusting, as hereinbefore stated, to time, discussion, and the ballot-box for final adjustment; and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object—to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate

dissolution. That this was their object the Executive well understood; and having said to them in the inaugural address, 'You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors,' he took pains not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the case so free from the power of ingenious sophistry that the world should not be able to misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances, that point was reached. Then and thereby the assailants of the government began the conflict of arms, without a gun in sight, or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort, sent to that harbor years before for their own protection, and still ready to give that protection in whatever was lawful. In this act, discarding all else, they have forced upon the country the distinct issue, 'immediate dissolution or blood.'

"And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question, whether a constitutional republic or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question, whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration, according to organic law, in any case, can always, upon the pretences made in this case, or on any other pretences, or arbitrarily, without any pretence, break up their government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask, 'Is there, in all republics, this inherent and fatal weakness?' 'Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?'

"So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the war power of the government; and so to resist force employed for its destruction, by force for its preservation."

Passing tersely over the secession of Virginia, and the circumstances of violence and deceit by which it had

been effected, and exposing the unjustness and hollowness of Kentucky's "neutrality," the President gave a brief explanation of the reasons leading to the suspension of the "habeas corpus act;" and then offered the following suggestions as to the measures deemed necessary for the immediate work in hand:

"It is now recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one; that you place at the control of the government for the work, at least four hundred thousand men, and four hundred millions of dollars. That number of men is about one-tenth of those of proper ages, within the regions where, apparently, all are willing to engage; and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of six hundred million dollars now, is a less sum per head than was the debt of our Revolution when we came out of that struggle; and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was then, than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties, as each had then to establish them.

"A right result, at this time, will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction, and the hand of the Executive to give it practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the government is to avoid receiving troops faster than it can provide for them. In a word, the people will save their government, if the government itself will do its part only indifferently well."

He then adverted to the abstract question of secession, denying its pretensions with a pungency and logical force peculiarly his own:

"It might seem, at first thought, to be of little difference whether the present movement at the South be called 'secession' or 'rebellion.' The movers, however, well understand the difference. At the beginning, they knew they could never raise their treason to any respectable magnitude by any name which implies violation of law. They knew their people possessed as much of moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in and reverence for the history and government of their common country, as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly, they commenced by an insidious debauching of the public mind. They invented an ingenious sophism, which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps, through all the incidents, to the complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is, that any State of the Union may, consistently with the national Constitution, and therefore lawfully and peacefully, withdraw from the Union, without the consent of the Union or of any other State. The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for just cause, themselves to be the sole judges of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice.

"With rebellion, thus sugar-coated, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until, at length, they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the government the day after some assemblage of men have enacted the farcical pretence of taking their State out of the Union, who could have been brought to no such thing the day before.

"This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole of its currency, from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a State—to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution—no one of them ever having been a State out of the Union.

The original ones passed into the Union even before they cast off their British colonial dependence; and the new ones each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas. And even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted by the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the 'United Colonies' were declared to be 'Free and independent States;' but, even then, the object plainly was not to declare their independence of one another, or of the Union, but directly the contrary; as their mutual pledge and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterwards, abundantly show. The express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen in the Articles of Confederation, two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive. Having never been States, either in substance or in name, outside of the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of 'State rights,' asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the 'sovereignty' of the States; but the word even is not in the national Constitution—nor, as is believed, in any of the State constitutions. What is 'sovereignty,' in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it, 'A political community without a political superior?' Tested by this, no one of our States, except Texas, ever was a sovereignty. And even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union; by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be for her the supreme law of the land. The States have their *status* in the Union, and they have no other legal *status*. If they break from this, they can only do so against law, and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase, the Union gave each of them whatever of independence or liberty

it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and, in fact, it created them as States. Originally some independent colonies made the Union—and, in turn, the Union threw off their old dependence for them, and made them States such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State constitution independent of the Union. Of course, it is not forgotten that all the new States framed their constitutions before they entered the Union: nevertheless, dependent upon and preparatory to coming into the Union.

"Unquestionably the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the national Constitution; but among these, surely, are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous or destructive; but, at most, such only as were known in the world at the time as governmental powers—and certainly a power to destroy the government itself, had never been known as a governmental, as a merely administrative power. This relative matter of national power and State rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of generality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole—to the General Government; while whatever concerns only the State, should be left exclusively to the State. This is all there is of original principle about it. Whether the national Constitution, in defining boundaries between the two, has applied the principle with exact accuracy, is not to be questioned. We are all bound by that defining without question.

"What is now combated, is the position that secession is consistent with the Constitution—is lawful and peaceful. It is not contended that there is any express law for it; and nothing should ever be implied as law which leads to unjust or absurd consequences. The nation purchased with money the countries out of which several of these States were formed; is it just that they shall go off without leave and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums (in the aggregate, I believe, nearly a hundred millions) to relieve Florida of the aboriginal tribes;

is it just that she shall now be off without consent, or without making any return? The nation is now in debt for money applied to the benefit of these so-called seceding States in common with the rest; is it just either that creditors shall go unpaid, or the remaining States pay the whole? A part of the present national debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas; is it just that she shall leave and pay no part of this herself?

"Again, if one State may secede, so may another; and when all shall have seceded, none is left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to creditors? Did we notify them of this sage view of ours when we borrowed their money? If we now recognize this doctrine by allowing the seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to see what we can do if others choose to go, or to extort terms upon which they will promise to remain.

"The seceders insist that our Constitution admits of secession. They have assumed to make a national constitution of their own, in which, of necessity, they have either discarded or retained the right of secession, as they insist it exists in ours. If they have discarded it, they thereby admit that, on principle, it ought not to be in ours. If they have retained it, by their own construction of ours, they show that to be consistent they must secede from one another whenever they shall find it the easiest way of settling their debts, or effecting any other selfish or unjust object. The principle itself is one of disintegration, and upon which no government can possibly endure.

"If all the States save one should assert the power to drive that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of seceder politicians would at once deny the power, and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called 'driving the one out,' should be called 'the seceding of the others from that one,' it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do; unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a minority, may rightfully do what the others, because they are

a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtile and profound on the rights of minorities. They are not partial to that power which made the Constitution, and speaks from the preamble, calling itself 'We, the people.'

"It may well be questioned whether there is to-day a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except, perhaps, South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other one of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tennessee; for the result of an election held in military camps, where the bayonets are all on one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. At such an election, all that large class who are at once for the Union and against coercion would be coerced to vote against the Union.

"It may be affirmed, without extravagance, that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved the condition of our whole people beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and impressive illustration. So large an army as the government has now on foot was never before known without a soldier in it but who had taken his place there of his own free choice. But more than this; there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress, and perhaps a court, abundantly competent to administer the government itself. Nor do I say this is not true also in the army of our late friends, now adversaries in this contest; but if it is, so much better the reason why the government which has conferred such benefits on both them and us should not be broken up. Whoever, in any section, proposes to abandon such a government, would do well to consider in deference to

what principle it is that he does it; what better he is likely to get in its stead; whether the substitute will give, or be intended to give, so much of good to the people? There are some foreshadowings on this subject. Our adversaries have adopted some declarations of independence, in which, unlike the good old one, penned by Jefferson, they omit the words, 'all men are created equal.' Why? They have adopted a temporary national constitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one, signed by Washington, they omit 'We, the people,' and substitute, 'We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States.' Why? Why this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of the people?

"This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend.

"I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note, that while in this the government's hour of trial, large numbers of those in the army and navy who have been favored with the offices have resigned and proved false to the hand which had pampered them, not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted his flag.

"Great honor is due to those officers who remained true, despite the example of their treacherous associates; but the greatest honor, and most important fact of all, is the unanimous firmness of the common soldiers and common sailors. To the last man, so far as known, they have successfully resisted the traitorous efforts of those whose commands but an hour before

they obeyed as absolute law. This is the patriotic instinct of plain people. They understand, without an argument, that the destroying the government which was made by Washington, means no good to them.

"Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal, except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace; teaching men that what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war.

"Lest there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the government towards the southern States after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say, it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws; and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people under the Constitution than that expressed in the inaugural address.

"He desires to preserve the government, that it may be administered for all, as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their government, and the government has no right to withhold or neglect it. It is not perceived that in giving it there is any coercion, any conquest, or any subjugation, in any just sense of those terms.

"The Constitution provides, and all the States have accepted

the provision, that 'the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government.' But if a State may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so it may also discard the republican form of Government; so that to prevent its going out in as indispensable means to the end of maintaining the guarantee mentioned; and when an end is lawful and obligatory, the indispensable means to it are also lawful and obligatory.

"It was with the deepest regret that the Executive found the duty of employing the war power in defence of the government forced upon him. He could but perform this duty or surrender the existence of the government. No compromise by public servants could in this case be a cure; not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular government can long survive a marked precedent that those who carry an election can only save the government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions.

"As a private citizen, the Executive could not have consented that these institutions shall perish; much less could he, in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as these free people have confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, or even to count the chances of his own life, in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility he has so far done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your own judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views and your action may so accord with his as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their rights of a certain and speedy restoration to them, under the Constitution and the laws.

"And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"*July* 4, 1861."

Congress imitated the President in confining its attention exclusively to the rebellion and the means for its suppression; the general sentiment of both Houses fully sustaining the President in the steps he had already taken.

Bills were passed authorizing him to accept the services of half a million of volunteers, and placing five hundred millions of dollars at the disposal of the government for the prosecution of the war; a resolution, offered by McClernand, of Illinois, pledging the House to vote any amount of money and any number of men necessary to suppress the rebellion, and restore the authority of the government, was adopted with but five opposing votes; and on the 22d of July, Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, offered the following resolution, defining the objects of the war:

"*Resolved, by the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States,* That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the southern States, now in arms against the constitutional government, and in arms around the capital; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the *supremacy* of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease."

The resolution was adopted with but two dissenting votes, and was accepted by the whole country as defining

the objects and limiting the continuance of the war; being regarded, also, with special favor by the loyal citizens of the border States, whose sensitiveness on the subject of slavery had been skilfully and zealously played upon by the agents and allies of the rebel Confederacy.

With certain modifications, the financial policy indicated by the President's message, was ultimately adopted, and a new tariff bill, designed to increase the revenue from imports, and a direct tax bill to raise twenty millions of dollars, became a law on the 2d of August. A confiscation act, moderate in its provisions, was also passed near the close of the session. An act legalizing the official measures of the President, during the recent emergency, received the support of nearly every member of both Houses.

Congress closed its extra session on the 6th of August, having taken the most vigorous and effective measures for the suppression of the rebellion, having clothed the President with even greater power than he had asked for; and avoided with just fidelity all topics likely to divide and weaken the loyal sentiment of the country. The people cordially seconded the patriotic action of their representatives, and the universal temper of the country was one of buoyancy and hope. During the early part of the summer, the rebels had been steadily pushing troops to the borders of the Potomac, menacing the national capital with capture, until, in the latter part of June, they had an army of not far from thirty-five thousand men, holding a strong position along the Bull Run creek,—its left posted at Winchester, and its right resting at Manassas.

The military movements hitherto had been mostly confined to Missouri, where the energetic General Lyon was "handling treason without gloves;" but it was not until June that the campaign in Western Virginia was fairly opened by the action (successful to the national arms) at Phillipa, followed early in July by the victory of Rich Mountain. In General Butler's department, a movement was made towards Yorktown, which resulted in the disastrous affair of Big Bethel. But the public, out of patience with the apparent tardiness of the military commanders, chafed by the disastrous results which had, to a great extent, attended what little had been done, and fearful that the golden opportunity for striking a decisive blow at the rebellion would be passed before the expiration of the brief term for which a large portion of the troops had enlisted—made so strong and universal a demand for a forward movement, that scheming politicians and tardy generals were fain to yield; and the government decided on a grand advance of the army upon the rebel position at Manassas.

On the 16th of July, the national army, of about thirty thousand men, under General McDowell, moved forward and attacked the enemy at Bull Run, on the 21st, the result being the defeat, with a loss of four hundred and eighty killed, and one thousand wounded, of our forces, who fell back on Washington in the greatest confusion and disorder. Had the rebel forces closely followed the panic-stricken fugitives, the capital would have been their easy prey.

The result of this battle took the whole country by surprise, the most sanguine expectations of a prompt

and decisive victory having been universally entertained; and the actual issue first revealed to the people the prospect of a long and bloody war. Yet the public heart was not in the least discouraged. On the contrary, the effect was to rouse still higher the courage and determination of the people.

It was now felt that no possible solution remained but one, to be achieved by arms, and that the most serious stage of the contest was at hand. From this time onward, the history of Mr. Lincoln's administration is, to a large extent, merged in that of the war, and his most important executive acts and orders, are closely related to the suppression of a revolt which surpasses, in the magnitude of its proportions and of the final issues involved, any other recorded in authentic annals.

The most vigorous efforts were made to reorganize the army, to increase its numbers by volunteering, and to establish a footing for national troops at various points along the rebel coast. Fort Hatteras, Port Royal and Ship Island, were taken on the coast, and the rebels were checked in Western Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, States in which the population had from the beginning of the contest been divided in sentiment and in action.

At this juncture, General Scott having resigned in consequence of illness and advancing age, Mr. Lincoln selected as his successor in the chief command of the armies, General George B. McClellan, whose success in Western Virginia justified the choice—to a much greater degree than did his subsequent efforts.

His first work was the task of recruiting and re-

organizing the army in and around Washington, for the defence of the capital, and preparatory to a fresh advance upon the enemy.

Thus far the government had avoided, in the prosecution of the war, as much as possible, any measures in regard to slavery which would serve to excite the prejudices of the border States—the confiscation act affecting only those slaves who should be "required or permitted" by their masters to render service to the rebellion. The same wise theory influenced the Executive.

The question, however, "What shall we do with them?" as applied to slaves coming as fugitives into our camps, was one which early began to attract the attention of our military commanders, and it met its first *practical* solution on the 27th of May, at the hands of General B. F. Butler, commanding at Fortress Monroe. Finding himself greatly embarrassed by the number of slaves that were coming in from the surrounding country and seeking protection within the lines of his camp, he determined to regard them as "*contraband* of war;" and, not only that, he *set them to work* for the federal government, at a fair compensation, against which was charged the expense of their support, the relative value to be adjusted thereafter. This course was approved by the government; and although the policy of the War Department was exceedingly ambiguous and tender upon this subject from the outset, it never, to its honor be it said, for a moment dreamed of a rendition of slaves, thus coming into our hands, to their rebel masters. Its instructions, from the first, were "to permit no interference by the persons under his command with the relations of persons held to service under the laws of

any State," and also "to *refrain from surrendering to alleged masters any such persons who might come within his lines.*" Before the close of August this policy had so broadened out that the Secretary of War instructed General Butler to receive *all* fugitives coming into his lines, whether of loyal or disloyal masters—it being proposed, at the same time, that a record of such fugitives should be kept, in order to compensate loyal owners at the close of hostilities.

The same policy was adopted in every part of the country, and all interference with the internal institutions of any State was expressly forbidden; but the government availed itself of the services of a portion of the slaves, taking care fully to provide for compensation to loyal masters.

On the 31st of August, General Fremont, commanding the Western Department, which embraced Missouri and a part of Kentucky, issued an order, proclaiming martial law in the State of Missouri, confiscating the property, real and personal, of all who were in arms against the United States, and declaring their slaves *free men.* The President, regarding this order as exceeding the authority vested in himself by Congress, made haste to rectify the error, which was working mischief everywhere throughout the border States. On the 11th of September, he accordingly wrote to General Fremont, ordering a modification of the objectionable clause so as to make it conform with the provisions of the confiscation act of August 6th, 1861.

During all this time, strenuous efforts were made in various quarters to induce the President to depart from this policy, and not only to proclaim a general emanci-

pation of all the slaves, but to put arms in their hands and employ them in the field against the rebels. But they were ineffectual. The President, however, true to his conviction that the war was "*for the Union*, and *for the preservation of all the constitutional rights of States and citizens of States in the Union*," adhered firmly and steadily to the policy which the then existing circumstances of the country in his judgment rendered wise and necessary. In this action he was fully sustained by the public sentiment of the loyal States, as well as by the great body of the people in the slave States along the border. And his course contributed largely, beyond doubt, to strengthen the cause of the Union in these border States, and especially to withdraw Tennessee from her hastily-formed connection with the rebel Confederacy.

The seizure of Messrs. Slidell and Mason, confederate commissioners to England, from the deck of the British mail-steamer Trent, November 7th, by Captain Wilkes, gave rise to much excitement, and threatened for a while to involve the country in war with England and France. It was a delicate matter, but Mr. Lincoln, with great sagacity, restored them to English authority, on the ground that Wilkes should have taken them before a legal tribunal, instead of himself assuming to decide their liability to capture. There were those who, at the time, considered this as an unbecoming concession; but the candid, sober second-thought of the people saw its propriety and approved it. The effect of the incident, under the just and judicious course adopted by the administration, was eminently favorable to the United States, increasing the general respect for

its adherence to sound principles of public law, and silencing effectually the slander that its government was too weak to disappoint or thwart a popular clamor. One of the immediate and important fruits of the discussion, was the prompt rejection of all demands for recognizing the independence of the Confederate States.

In no one act of his life, perhaps, did President Lincoln exhibit a more conspicuous instance of fidelity to himself, than in this case.

"'It would be difficult,' says Rev. Mr. Moncure D. Conway, for an Englishman to understand the peculiar trials of that case, the least part of which related to England. They can be appreciated only by those who know the history of that political party which, by its alliance with the anti-English prejudices of the Irish in America, and with the slavery interest, had so long ruled at Washington, and which, deprived of its southern votes, was now madly endeavoring to promote a reaction by raising a storm of popular feeling against England, and of wrath against the party in power for, 'truckling to England,' a storm upon which it hoped to ride into power. The Republicans and their President knew that the accession of that party would be the restoration of slavery to supreme power in the nation. Some idea of the feeling among the Irish at the time may be conveyed by the following expression which I heard from a leading Irishman at a public dinner, given to an Irish colonel, in Ohio:—'Gentlemen,' he said, 'the opinions which are expressed throughout the country concerning this Trent affair afflict me deeply. I *did* hope that the hour for which we have so long prayed had arrived, and that we were to have a collision with England; but, alas! there seems reason to believe that the act of Wilkes is entirely legal, and that England will not object to it.' Undoubtedly many of the foolish expressions among Republicans favorable to the capture, were due more to a determination to diminish the party capital which the Democracy

was making out of it, than to ignorance of the law, or hostility to England. Nevertheless, Mr. Lincoln had a hurricane to withstand. He was for a few days uncertain as to the law in the case: but there came to him a letter from an old friend in the far west, in whose legal knowledge he had complete faith —Hon. Thomas Ewing—which said simply—*In this affair of the Trent we are in the wrong.* And before any comment on the event had returned from England, the President had arrived at his decision, and was only considering how the surrender could be made with as little risk of a Democratic (pro-slavery) reaction as possible. These facts I have from one who was in intimate relation with the President during that affair."

CHAPTER XI.

THE EMANCIPATION ACT.

The public mind is gradually prepared for Emancipation.—The President's Message favoring gradual Emancipation.—The Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.—General Hunter's Emancipation Order, and its revocation by the President.—Conference with the Border States Senators.—Orders from the President, through the War Department, relative to Slavery.—Letter from the Secretary of War to General Butler.—Confiscation Bill.—Greeley's Letter to the President.—The President's Reply.—His reply to a Memorial from the Clergymen of Chicago.—Letters of Charles Sumner and Owen Lovejoy.—THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus.—Proclamation of Freedom, January 1st, 1863.—Mr. Carpenter's "*Inside History*" of the Emancipation Proclamation.—Reminiscences by the Rev. M. D. Conway.

THE Thirty-seventh Congress, convening for its second session, December 2d, 1861, received from the President his annual message, in which the condition of the country, and the progress of the war were clearly stated; and the principles which had guided the Executive in his conduct of public affairs, were set forth with great distinctness and precision.

It was very evident from this document, as well as from his official actions, that, as regarded the subject of interference with slavery, the President, while adhering strictly to the provisions of the act passed by Congress at its extra session, was gradually becoming convinced of the inevitable necessity of adopting a much more rigorous policy—as a means of quelling the rebellion—than had been contemplated by that act.

It is true, as stated in a previous chapter, that when Major-General Fremont, in September, 1861, proclaimed universal emancipation in his military department of Missouri—the act, though applauded by the whole country, and regarded by almost every statesman and lawyer as a legitimate exercise of martial power—was disapproved by the President. But this was because he did not consider it an indispensable military necessity, and consequently held it as a violation of his oath to support the Constitution to permit it. In this, as in all other cases, where a point of moral conviction was involved, he was immovable; and, profoundly mistaken in his interpretation of the Constitution as many believed him to be, yet his quiet firmness on the occasion commanded respect even from those who differed radically with him in regard to its propriety.

There was, also, equally evident, a corresponding advance of the public mind in the same direction. The diplomatic assurance of our Secretary of State to foreign governments, that no change in southern institutions was contemplated, in any event; McClellan's manifesto on the subject to the Virginians; Halleck's exclusion of fugitive slaves from the lines of the Army of the West, and the 22d of July resolution of Mr. Crittenden, were no longer satisfactory. During the past few months, aside from the small class of those who had been, from the first, radical emancipationists,—a large portion of the people had been gradually led to the conviction that some measure which should free the slave from the condition in which he was made to support the rebel cause, and which also should allow of his active employment against that cause—would be a proper and a

desirable exercise of the war-power. The resistance of the rebels had been much more vigorous than any one, at the outset of the war, had calculated upon; the defeat at Bull Run had exasperated and aroused the public mind; while the military results thus far, had not been satisfactory, either to the President or to the people. The leniency of the government in regard to slavery had entirely failed in its first great object, the lessening and softening of the animosity of the rebels; and had even been represented by the latter, to European powers, as evidencing the intention of the United States to protect and perpetuate slavery, by restoring the authority of the Constitution which guaranteed its safety. It was, also, a well ascertained fact, that slaves were freely employed, within the rebel lines, in building fortifications, etc., thus, as well as in other ways, contributing largely to the strength of the rebellion. The whole country, then, began to understand that slavery was not only the cause, but the main strength of the rebellion; and their demand for its destruction—as a means of shortening the war—became daily more and more earnestly manifested.

The President, in his inaugural address, had foreseen this coming necessity, and consequently had avoided any pledge or act, which under such circumstances, should restrict his power to hasten its destruction. He considered himself in this—as in all other matters—the instrument for the faithful execution of the declared will of the people. At the time of his inauguration, only seven of the States forming the Confederacy had been fairly swept into the maelstrom of secession, and of the remaining eight slave States, only four were finally absorbed. As

the President, therefore, of an, as yet, undivided Union, Mr. Lincoln felt constrained to a course of non-interference with the relation of master and slave. In his opinion, the power vested in him did not authorize the disturbance of that relation as a recognized institution, but simply as a military measure, by commanders in the field, and for purely military purposes, in accordance with the established laws of war. Foreseeing what must come, if resistance to the authority of the United States was long persisted in, he had most earnestly endeavored to arouse the attention of the southern people, to the fact that the fate of slavery would, sooner or later, inevitably be involved in the conflict. And knowing this, this cautious and patient leader sought, with wise forethought, to reconcile the shock which would thus be involved, with the order and the permanent prosperity of the country and the people.

It was soon apparent, as the session of Congress progressed, that that great deliberative body was also disposed to make very considerable advances upon the legislation of the extra session, and to them the President, on the 6th of March, sent the following message on the subject of aiding such slaveholding States as as might take measures to emancipate their slaves, and recommending the adoption of measures looking to "gradual, and not sudden emancipation."

"WASHINGTON, *March* 6, 1862.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:—I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable body, which shall be, substantially, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the United States, in order to coöperate with

any State which may adopt gradual abolition of slavery, give to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State, in its discretion, to compensate it for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system.

"If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is an end of it. But if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the States and people immediately interested should be at once distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it.

"The Federal Government would find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that the government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave States north of such parts will then say: 'The Union for which we have struggled being already gone, we now choose to go with the southern section.' To deprive them of this hope, substantially ends the rebellion, and the initiation of emancipation completely deprives them of it as to all the States initiating it.

"The point is not that all the States tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation, but that while the offer is equally made to all, the more northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more southern that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their proposed confederacy. I say 'initiation,' because, in my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all. In the mere financial or pecuniary view, any member of Congress, with the census tables and the Treasury report before him, can readily see for himself, how very soon the current expenditures of this war would purchase, at a fair valuation, all the slaves in any named State.

"Such a proposition on the part of the general government sets up no claim of a right by Federal authority to interfere

with slavery within State limits, referring as it does the absolute control of the subject in each case to the State and its people immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them.

"In the annual message last December, I thought fit to say: 'The Union must be preserved; and hence all indispensable means must be employed.' I said this not hastily, but deliberately. War has been made and continues to be an indispensable means to this end. A practical reacknowledgment of the national authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease. If, however, resistance continues, the war must also continue, and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency toward ending the struggle, must and will come.

"The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offence to ask whether the pecuniary consideration tendered would not be of more value to the States and private persons concerned, than are the institutions and property in it, in the present aspect of affairs.

"While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon lead to important practical results. In full view of my great responsibility to my God and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people, to the subject.

"*March* 6, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The general feeling of the country, at this juncture, was in harmony with the tone of this message. The people, still disposed to exhaust every right and lawful means to withdraw the people of the South from the disastrous war into which they had been plunged by their leaders, welcomed this suggestion of the President

as likely to produce that result, if any effort in that direction could.

The friendly portion of the English press, likewise, indorsed it as a "fair, moderate, and magnanimous policy," in bright contrast with the gloomy action of the rebel authorities.

Mr. Conkling, of New York, prompted by this recommendation of the Executive, introduced, a few days after, in the House of Representatives, a resolve which thus embodied the emancipation views of the message.

"*Resolved, &c.,* That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system."

This was vehemently opposed by the rebel-sympathizing members, but was finally adopted by a large vote, and was approved by the President, April 10th. The resolve was generally regarded merely as an experiment, but its passage was undoubtedly an important step in the development of the anti-slavery sentiment fast taking hold of the minds of *all* loyalists.

When, therefore, early in April following, a bill was introduced into the Senate, abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, with compensation to loyal owners, with an amendment, directing that those thus set free should be colonized out of the United States,* it was passed by a large majority, and was promptly approved by President Lincoln in a special message, in which he said—

* This provision was subsequently repealed June 29, 1863.

"I have never doubted the constitutional authority of Congress to abolish slavery in this District; and I have ever desired to see the national capital freed from the institution in some satisfactory way. Hence there has never been, in my mind, any question upon the subject except the one of expediency, arising in view of all the circumstances. If there be matters within and about this act which might have taken a course or shape more satisfactory to my judgment, I do not attempt to specify them. I am gratified that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both recognized and practically applied in the act."

On the 9th of May, General Hunter, commanding the Department of the South, issued the following order, declaring all the slaves within that department to be thenceforth "forever free."

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH,
HILTON HEAD, S. C., *May* 9, 1862.

"[GENERAL ORDERS, No. 11.]

"The three States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, comprising the military Department of the South, having deliberately declared themselves no longer under the protection of the United States of America, and having taken up arms against the said United States, it becomes a military necessity to declare them under martial law. This was accordingly done on the 25th day of April, 1862. Slavery and martial law, in a free country, are altogether incompatible. The persons in these three States—Georgia, Florida and South Carolina—heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free.

"DAVID HUNTER, *Major-General Commanding.*

"Official:

"ED. W. SMITH, *Acting Assistant Adj't-General.*"

This was confessedly based, not upon any alleged

military necessity, but upon a theoretical incompatibility between slavery and martial law. The President thereupon at once issued a proclamation, in which, after declaring any such declaration on the part of General Hunter, or any other commander, to be wholly unauthorized and void, he thus continued:

"I further make known, that, whether it be competent for me, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free; and whether, at any time, or in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintainance of the government to exercise such supposed power; are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field.

"These are totally different questions from those of police regulations in armies or in camps.

"On the sixth day of March last, by a special message, I recommended to Congress the adoption of a joint resolution, to be substantially as follows:

"'*Resolved*, That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State earnest expression to compensate for its inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.'

"The resolution, in the language above quoted, was adopted by large majorities in both branches of Congress, and now stands an authentic, definite, and solemn proposal of the nation, to the States and people most interested in the subject-matter. To the people of these States now I mostly appeal. I do not argue—I beseech you to make the argument for yourselves. You cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times.

"I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, if it may be, far above partizan and personal politics.

"This proposal makes common cause for a common object,

casting no reproaches upon any. It acts not the Pharisee. The change it contemplates would come gently as the dews of heaven, not rending or wrecking any thing. Will you not embrace it? So much good has not been done by one effort in all past time, as in the providence of God it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this nineteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-sixth.

(Signed) "ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

This characteristic proclamation, while it silenced the clamorous denunciations of the enemies of the administration, did not develop any disposition on the part of the border States to act upon the suggestions, or to avail themselves of the aid which Congress had offered.

Fully impressed, however, with the great importance of permanently detaching the border slave States, if possible, from the interests of the rebel Confederacy, and unwilling to leave any means untried which might accomplish that desirable result, Mr. Lincoln sought a personal Conference with the Representatives from these States. He evidently looked forward to the necessity of a more radical and decisive policy in regard to slavery.

The disastrous Peninsular campaign had produced depression throughout the country. The war, it was

felt, must somehow be ended, with the rebellion overthrown; and the employment of every legitimate war measure was felt to be now imperatively demanded. He was anxious that the great change should come as lightly as possible on the still loyal slave States, and it was in this spirit that the interview was solicited by him. Meeting at the executive mansion, on the 12th of July, these representatives were addressed by Mr. Lincoln (reading what he had carefully prepared for the occasion) as follows:

"GENTLEMEN: After the adjournment of Congress, now near, I shall have no opportunity of seeing you for several months. Believing that you of the border States hold more power for good than any other equal number of members, I feel it a duty which I cannot justifiably waive to make this appeal to you.

"I intend no reproach or complaint when I assure you that, in my opinion, if you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended. And the plan therein proposed is yet one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. Let the States which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly that in no event will the States you represent ever join their proposed confederacy, and they cannot much longer maintain the contest. But you cannot divest them of their hope to ultimately have you with them so long as you show a determination to perpetuate the institution within your own States. Beat them at elections, as you have overwhelmingly done, and, nothing daunted, they still claim you as their own. You and I know what the lever of their power is. Break that lever before their faces, and they can shake you no more forever.

"Most of you have treated me with kindness and consideration, and I trust you will not now think I improperly touch what is exclusively your own, when, for the sake of the whole country, I ask, 'Can you, for your States, do better than to

take the course I urge?' Discarding *punctilio* and maxims adapted to more manageable time, and looking only to the unprecedentedly stern facts of our case, can you do better in any possible event? You prefer that the constitutional relations of the States to the nation shall be practically restored without disturbance of the institution; and, if this were done, my whole duty in this respect, under the Constitution and my oath of office, would be performed. But it is not done, and we are trying to accomplish it by war. The incidents of the war cannot be avoided. If the war continues long, as it must if the object be not sooner attained, the institution in your States will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion—by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. How much better for you and for your people to take the step which at once shortens the war, and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event! How much better to thus save the money which else we sink forever in the war! How much better to do it while we can, lest the war, ere long, render us pecuniarily unable to do it! How much better for you as seller, and the nation as buyer, to sell out and buy out that without which the war could never have been, than to sink both the thing to be sold and the price of it, in cutting one another's throats!

"I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply and in abundance, and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go.

"I am pressed with a difficulty not yet mentioned—one which threatens division among those who, united, are none too strong. An instance of it is known to you. General Hunter is an honest man. He was, and I hope still is, my friend. I valued him none the less for his agreeing with me in

the general wish that all men everywhere could be freed. He proclaimed all men free within certain States, and I repudiated the proclamation. He expected more good and less harm from the measure than I could believe would follow. Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offence to many whose support the country cannot afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask you can relieve me, and, much more, can relieve the country in this important point.

"Upon these considerations, I have again begged your attention to the message of March last. Before leaving the Capitol, consider and discuss it among yourselves. You are patriots and statesmen, and as such, I pray you consider this proposition, and, at the least, commend it to the consideration of your States and people. As you would perpetuate popular government for the best people in the world, I beseech you that you do in no wise omit this. Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action to bring a speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of government is saved to the world; its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated, and its happy future fully assured and rendered inconceivably grand. To you, more than to any others, the privilege is given to assure that happiness, and swell that grandeur, and to link your own names therewith forever."

Twenty of the Senators and Representatives thus addressed replied in respectful, but decidedly unfavorable terms. Nine only made friendly and approving responses.

The conference, however, served the most desirable purpose of testing the sentiment of each section of the country, and in preparing the way for the more vigorous treatment of the subject of slavery which the blind and stubborn prejudices of the slaveholding States were rapidly rendering inevitable.

This "more vigorous treatment of the subject of slavery," on the part of the Administration, was now fairly commenced by the issue of the following general instructions from the President, through the War Office.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *July* 22*d*, 1862.

"*First*, Ordered that military commanders within the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Missippi, Lousiana, Texas, and Arkansas, in an orderly manner seize and use any property, real or personal, which may be necessary or convenient for their several commands, for supplies, or for other military purposes; and that while property may be destroyed for proper military objects, none shall be destroyed in wantonness or malice.

"*Second.* That military and naval commanders shall employ as laborers, within and from said States, so many persons of African descent as can be advantageously used for military or naval purposes, giving them reasonable wages for their labor.

"*Third.* That, as to both property and persons of African descent, accounts shall be kept sufficiently accurate and in detail, to show quantities and amounts, and from whom both property and such persons shall have come, on a basis upon which compensation can be made in proper cases; and the several departments of this government shall attend to and perform their appropriate parts towards the execution of these orders.

"By order of the President.

"EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*"

The views of the Executive were still further set forth in the reply of the War Department to General Butler, who had declined to approve of the conduct of his subordinate, General J. W. Phelps, in organizing five companies of negroes, whom he proposed to arm and

equip, upon the ground that the President alone had the authority to employ Africans in arms, and that he had not indicated this purpose.

"War Department, Washington City, *July* 3, 1862.

"General:—I wrote you last under date of the 29th ultimo, and have now to say that your despatch of the 18th ultimo, with the accompanying report of General Phelps, concerning certain fugitive negroes that have come to his pickets, has been considered by the President.

"He is of opinion that under the law of Congress, they cannot be sent back to their masters: that in common humanity they must not be permitted to suffer for want of food, shelter, or other necessaries of life; that to this end they should be provided for by the quartermaster's and commissary's departments, and that those who are capable of labor should be set to work and paid reasonable wages.

"In directing this to be done, the President does not mean, at present, to settle any general rule in respect to slaves or slavery, but simply to provide for the particular case under the circumstances in which it is now presented.

"I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"Edwin M. Stanton, *Secretary of War.*

"Major-General B. F. Butler,

"*Commanding, &c., New Orleans, Louisiana.*"

The passage of the Confiscation Bill, on the 17th of July, as modified to meet the views of the President, formed a very important step in the prosecution of the war. It prescribed definite penalties for the crime of treason,—thus supplying a defect in the existing laws of the land;—gave the rebels distinctly to understand that among these penalties, if they persisted in their resistance to the authority of the United States, would be

the emancipation of their slaves; and authorized the employment, by the President, of persons of African descent, to aid in the suppression of the rebellion in in any way which he might deem best for the public welfare. Yet it was still most clearly evident that the main object and purpose of these measures was not the abolition of slavery, but the preservation of the Union and the restoration of the authority of the Constitution.

On the same day, (July 17th,) Congress adjourned, having adopted many other measures of marked though minor importance, to aid in the prosecution of the war. Several Senators had been expelled for adherence, direct or indirect, to the rebel cause; measures had been taken to remove, from the several departments of the government, *employees* more or less openly in sympathy with secession; Hayti and Liberia were recognized as independent republics; a treaty was negotiated and ratified with Great Britain, conceding the right, within certain limits, of searching suspected slavers carrying the American flag, and the most liberal grants in men and money were made to the government for the prosecution of the war. The President had appointed military Governors for several of the border States, who were especially enjoined to protect the loyal citizens and to regard them as alone entitled to a voice in the direction of civil affairs.

Public sentiment in the loyal States sustained the action of Congress and the President as adapted to the emergency and to the suppression of the rebellion. At the same time it was very evident that the conviction was rapidly gaining ground that slavery was the cause of the rebellion; and that it was this interest alone

which gave unity and vigor to the rebel cause. A very active and influential party at the North had insisted, from the outset, that the most direct way of crushing the rebellion was by crushing slavery, and had urged upon the President an immediate and unconditional emancipation policy, as the only thing necessary to reinforce the ranks of the Union armies with thousands of enfranchised slaves, as well as to rouse the great mass of the people of the northern States who needed this stimulus of an appeal to their moral sentiment. After the adjournment of Congress these demands became still more clamorous and importunate, and the President was urged to avail himself of the Confiscation Bill, and to decree the instant liberation of every slave belonging to a rebel master. These demands soon assumed, among the more impatient and intemperate portion of the friends of the Administration, a tone of complaint and condemnation; and the President was even charged with culpable remissness in the discharge of duties imposed upon him by the act of Congress. These demands were embodied with much force in a letter addressed to the President by Hon. Horace Greeley, and published in the New York *Tribune* of the 19th of August:

"THE PRAYER OF TWENTY MILLIONS.

"To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States:

"DEAR SIR:—I do not intrude to tell you—for you must know already—that a great proportion of those who triumphed in your election, and of all who desire the unqualified suppression of the rebellion now desolating our country, are sorely disappointed and deeply pained by the policy you seem to be pursuing with regard to the slaves of the rebels. I write only

to set succinctly and unmistakably before you what we require, what we think we have a right to expect, and of what we complain.

"I. We require of you, as the first servant of the Republic, charged especially and preëminently with this duty, that you EXECUTE THE LAWS. Most emphatically do we demand that such laws as have been recently enacted, which therefore may fairly be presumed, to embody the *present* will and to be dictated by the *present* needs of the Republic, and which, after due consideration, have received your personal sanction, shall by you be carried into full effect, and that you publicly and decisively instruct your subordinates that such laws exist, that they are binding on all functionaries and citizens, and that they are to be obeyed to the letter.

"II. We think you are strangely and disastrously remiss in the discharge of your official and imperative duty with regard to the emancipation provisions of the new Confiscation Act. Those provisions were designed to fight slavery with liberty. They prescribe that men loyal to the Union, and willing to shed their blood in her behalf, shall no longer be held, with the nation's consent, in bondage to persistent, malignant traitors, who for twenty years have been plotting, and for sixteen months have been fighting to divide and destroy our country. Why these traitors should be treated with tenderness by you, to the prejudices of the dearest rights of loyal men, we cannot conceive.

"III. We think you are unduly influenced by the councils, the representations, the menaces, of certain fossil politicians hailing from the border States. Knowing well that the heartily, unconditionally loyal portion of the white citizens of those States do not expect nor desire that slavery shall be upheld to the prejudice of the Union—(for the truth of which we appeal not only to every Republican residing in those States, but to such eminent loyalists as H. Winter Davis, Parson Brownlow, the Union Central Committee of Baltimore,

and to the Nashville *Union*)—we ask you to consider that slavery is everywhere the inciting cause and sustaining base of treason: the most slaveholding sections of Maryland and Delaware being this day, though under the Union flag, in full sympathy with the rebellion, while the free labor portions of Tennessee and of Texas, though writhing under the bloody heel of treason, are unconquerably loyal to the Union. So emphatically is this the case, that a most intelligent Union banker of Baltimore recently avowed his confident belief that a majority of the present Legislature of Maryland, though elected as and still professing to be Unionists, are at heart desirous of the triumph of the Jeff. Davis conspiracy; and when asked how they could be won back to loyalty, replied: 'Only by the complete abolition of slavery.' It seems to us the most obvious truth, that whatever strengthens or fortifies slavery in the border States strengthens also treason, and drives home the wedge intended to divide the Union. Had you, from the first, refused to recognize in those States, as here, any other than unconditional loyalty—that which stands for the Union, whatever may become of slavery—those States would have been, and would be, far more helpful and less troublesome to the defenders of the Union than they have been, or now are.

"IV. We think timid counsels in such a crisis calculated to prove perilous, and probably disastrous. It is the duty of a government so wantonly, wickedly assailed by rebellion as ours has been, to oppose force to force in a defiant, dauntless spirit. It cannot afford to temporize with traitors, nor with semi-traitors. It must not bribe them to behave themselves, nor make them fair promises in the hope of disarming their causeless hostility. Representing a brave and high-spirited people, it can afford to forfeit any thing else better than its own self-respect, or their admiring confidence. For our government even to seek, after war has been made on it, to dispel the affected apprehensions of armed traitors that their cherished

privileges may be assailed by it, is to invite insult and encourage hopes of its own downfall. The rush to arms of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, is the true answer at once to the rebel raids of John Morgan and the traitorous sophistries of Beriah Magoffin.

"V. We complain that the Union cause has suffered, and is now suffering immensely, from mistaken deference to rebel slavery. Had you, sir, in your inaugural address, unmistakeably given notice that, in case the rebellion, already commenced, were persisted in, and your efforts to preserve the Union and enforce the laws should be resisted by armed force, *you would recognize no loyal person as rightfully held in slavery by a traitor*, we believe the rebellion would therein have received a staggering, if not a fatal blow. At that moment, according to the returns of the most recent elections, the Unionists were a large majority of the voters of the slave States. But they were composed in good part of the aged, the feeble, the wealthy, the timid—the young, the reckless, the aspiring, the adventurous, had already been largely lured by the gamblers, and negro-traders, the politicians by trade and the conspirators by instinct, into the toils of treason. Had you then proclaimed that rebellion would strike the shackles from the slaves of every traitor, the wealthy and the cautious would have been supplied with a powerful inducement to remain loyal. As it was, every coward in the South soon became a traitor from fear; for loyalty was perilous, while treason seemed comparatively safe. Hence the boasted unanimity of the South—a unanimity based on rebel terrorism and the fact that immunity and safety were found on that side, danger and probably death on ours. The rebels, from the first, have been eager to confiscate, imprison, scourge and kill; we have fought with wolves with the devices of sheep. The result is just what might have been expected. Tens of thousands are fighting in the rebel ranks to-day, whose original bias and natural leaning would have led them into ours.

"VI. We complain that the Confiscation Act which you ap-

proved is habitually disregarded by your generals, and that no word of rebuke for them from you has yet reached the public ear. Fremont's proclamation and Hunter's order favoring emancipation were promptly annulled by you; while Hallack's Number Three, forbidding fugitives from slavery to rebels to come within his lines—an order as unmilitary as inhuman, and which received the hearty approbation of every traitor in America—with scores of like tendency, have never provoked even your remonstrance. We complain that the officers of your armies have habitually repelled, rather than invited the approach of slaves who would have gladly taken the risks of escaping from their rebel masters to our camps, bringing intelligence often of inestimable value to the Union cause. We complain that those who *have* escaped to us, avowing a willingness to do for us whatever might be required, have been brutally and madly repulsed, and often surrendered to be scourged, maimed, and tortured by the ruffian traitors who pretend to own them. We complain that a large portion of our regular army officers, with many of the volunteers, evince far more solicitude to uphold slavery than to put down the rebellion. And finally, we complain that you, Mr. President, elected as a Republican, knowing well what an abomination slavery is, and how emphatically it is the core and essence of this atrocious rebellion, seem never to interfere with these atrocities, and never give a direction to your military subordinates, which does not appear to have been conceived in the interest of slavery rather than of freedom.

"VII. Let me call your attention to the recent tragedy in New Orleans, whereof the facts are obtained entirely through pro-slavery channels. A considerable body of resolute, able-bodied men, held in slavery by two rebel sugar-planters in defiance of the Confiscation Act which you have approved, left plantations thirty miles distant and made their way to the great mart of the south-west, which they knew to be in the undisputed possession of the Union forces. They made their

way safely and quietly through thirty miles of rebel territory, expecting to find freedom under the folds of our flag. Whether they had or had not heard of the passage of the Confiscation Act, they reasoned logically that we could not kill them for deserting the service of their life-long oppressors, who had through treason become our implacable enemies. They came to us for liberty and protection, for which they were willing to render their best services; they met with hostility, captivity and murder. The barking of the base curs of slavery in this quarter deceives no one—not even themselves. They say, indeed, that the negroes had no right to appear in New Orleans armed, (with their implements of daily labor in the cane-field;) but no one doubts that they would gladly have laid these down if assured that they should be free. They were set upon and maimed, captured and killed, because they sought the benefit of that act of Congress which they may not specifically have heard of, but which was none the less the law of the land—which they had a clear *right* to the benefit of—which it was *somebody's* duty to publish far and wide, in order that so many as possible should be impelled to desist from serving rebels and the rebellion, and come over to the side of the Union. They sought their liberty in strict accordance with the laws of the land—they were butchered or reënslaved for so doing by the help of Union soldiers enlisted to fight against slaveholding treason. It was *somebody's* fault that they were so murdered—if others shall hereafter suffer in like manner, in default of explicit and public direction to your generals that they are to recognize and obey the Confiscation Act, the world will lay the blame on *you* Whether you will choose to bear it through future history and at the bar of God, I will not judge I can only hope.

"VIII. On the face of this wide earth, Mr. President, there is not one disinterested, determined, intelligent champion of the Union cause who does not feel that all attempts to put down the rebellion, and at the same time uphold its inciting cause are

preposterous and futile—that the rebellion, if crushed out to-morrow, would be renewed within a year if slavery were left in full vigor—that army officers who remain this day devoted to slavery can at best be but half-way loyal to the Union—and that every hour of deference to slavery is an hour of added and deepened peril to the Union. I appeal to the testimony of your embassadors in Europe. It is freely at your service, not at mine. Ask them to tell you candidly whether the subserviency of your policy to the slaveholding, slavery-upholding interest, is not the perplexity, the despair of statesmen of all parties, and be admonished by the general answer!

"XI. I close as I began, with the statement that what an immense majority of the loyal millions of your country require of you is a frank, declared, unqualified, ungrudging execution of the laws of the land, more especially of the Confiscation Act. That act gives freedom to the slaves of rebels coming within our lines, or whom those lines may at any time inclose —we ask you to render it due obedience by publicly requiring your subordinates to recognize and obey it. The rebels are everywhere using the late anti-negro riots in the North, as they have long used your officers' treatment of negroes in the South, to convince the slaves that they have nothing to hope from a Union success—that we mean in that case to sell them into a bitter bondage to defray the cost of the war. Let them impress this as a truth on the great mass of their ignorant and credulous bondmen, and the Union will never be restored —never. We cannot conquer ten millions of people united in solid phalanx against us, powerfully aided by northern sympathizers and European allies. We must have scouts, guides, spies, cooks, teamsters, diggers and choppers from the blacks of the South, whether we allow them to fight for us or not or whether we shall be baffled and repelled. As one of the millions who would gladly have avoided this struggle at any sacrifice but that of principle and honor, but who now feels that the triumph of the Union is indispensable not only to the existence of our

country but to the well-being of mankind, I entreat you to render a hearty and unequivocal obedience to the laws of the land. Yours,

"HORACE GREELEY.

"*New York, August* 19, 1862."

To this, President Lincoln simply made the following inimitable reply:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *August* 22, 1862.

"HON. HORACE GREELEY:

"DEAR SIR—I have just read yours of the 19th instant, addressed to myself through the New York *Tribune*.

"If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them.

"If there be any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them.

"If there be perceptible in it an impatient dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

"As to the policy I 'seem to be pursuing,' as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution.

"The sooner the national authority can be restored the nearer the Union will be—the Union as it was.

"If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them.

"If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them.

"*My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery.*

"If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it—if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I

would do it—and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

"What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union, and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

"I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause.

"I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

"I have here stated my purpose according to my official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free. Yours,

"A. LINCOLN."

It is impossible to mistake the President's meaning as expressed in this letter, or to doubt the policy by which he expected to re-establish the authority of the Constitution over the whole territory of the United States. Regarding all the power conferred on him by Congress in regard to slavery as having been conferred for the purpose of aiding him to "save the Union," he resolved to wield those powers so as best, according to his own judgment, to aid in its attainment. He forbore therefore for a long time to issue such a proclamation as he was authorized to make by the sixth section of the Confiscation Act of Congress—awaiting the developments of public sentiment on the subject, and being especially anxious that when it was issued, it should receive the moral support of the great body of the people of the whole country without regard to party distinctions. Seeking with assiduity every opportunity of informing

himself as to the drift of public sentiment on this subject, he submitted himself to his "*public opinion baths;*" received and conversed freely with all who visited and urged upon him the adoption of their peculiar views; and on the 13th of September, gave audience to a deputation from all the religious denominations of the city of Chicago, which presented a memorial requesting him at once to issue a proclamation of universal emancipation.

The President having listened attentively to the memorial, replied as follows:

"The subject presented in the memorial is one upon which I have thought much for weeks past, and I may even say for months. I am approached with the most opposite opinions and advice, and that by religious men, who are equally certain that they represent the Divine will. I am sure that either the one or the other class is mistaken in that belief, and perhaps, in some respects, both. I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal his will to others, on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed he would reveal it directly to me; for, unless I am more deceived in myself than I often am, it is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter. And if I can learn what it is I will do it! These are not, however, the days of miracles, and I suppose it will be granted that I am not to expect a direct revelation. I must study the plain physical facts of the case, ascertain what is possible, and learn what appears to be wise and right.

"The subject is difficult, and good men do not agree. For instance, the other day, four gentlemen of standing and intelligence from New York called as a delegation on business connected with the war; but before leaving two of them earnestly besought me to proclaim general emancipation, upon which the other two at once attacked them. You know also that the last session of Congress had a decided majority of anti-slavery men,

yet they could not unite on this policy. And the same is true of the religious people. Why, the rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more earnestness, I fear, than our own troops, and expecting God to favor their side: for one of our soldiers who had been taken prisoner, told Senator Wilson a few days since that he met nothing so discouraging as the evident sincerity of those he was among in their prayers. But we will talk over the merits of the case.

"What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves. when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel States? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual, that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that that law has caused a single slave to come over to us. And suppose they could be induced by a proclamation of freedom from me to throw themselves upon us, what should we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? General Butler wrote me a few days since that he was issuing more rations to the slaves who had rushed to him than to all the white troops under his command. They eat, and that is all; though it is true General Butler is feeding the whites also by the thousand: for it nearly amounts to a famine there. If, now, the pressure of the war should call off our forces from New Orleans to defend some other point, what is to prevent the masters from reducing the blacks to slavery again; for I am told that whenever the rebels take any black prisoners, free or slave, they immediately auction them off! They did so with those they took from a boat that was aground in the Tennessee river a few days ago. And then I am very

ungenerously attacked for it! For instance, when, after the late battles at and near Bull Run, an expedition went out from Washington under a flag of truce to bury the dead and bring in the wounded, and the rebels seized the blacks who went along to help, and sent them into slavery, Horace Greeley said in his paper that the government would probably do nothing about it. What could I do?

"Now, then, tell me, if you please, what possible result of good would follow the issuing of such a proclamation as you desire? Understand, I raise no objections against it on legal or constitutional grounds, for, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy; nor do I urge objections of a moral nature, in view of possible consequences of insurrection and massacre at the South. I view this matter as a practical war measure, to be decided on according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion."

The committee, in replying to these remarks, insisted that a proclamation of emancipation would secure at once the sympathy of Europe and the civilized world; and that as slavery was clearly the cause and origin of the rebellion, it was simply just, and in accordance with the word of God, that it should be abolished. To these views the President responded as follows:

"I admit that slavery is at the root of the rebellion, or at least its *sine qua non*. The ambition of politicians may have instigated them to act, but they would have been impotent without slavery as their instrument. I will also concede that emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition. I grant, further, that it would help somewhat at the North, though not so much, I fear, as you and those you represent imagine. Still, some

additional strength would be added in that way to the war; and then, unquestionably, it would weaken the rebels by drawing off their laborers, which is of great importance; but I am not so sure we could do much with the blacks. If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels; and, indeed, thus far, we have not had arms enough to equip our white troops. I will mention another thing, though it meet only your scorn and contempt. There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Union army from the border slave States. It would be a serious matter if, in consequence of a proclamation such as you desire, they should go over to the rebels. I do not think they all would—not so many indeed as a year ago, or as six months ago—not so many to-day as yesterday. Every day increases their Union feeling. They are also getting their pride enlisted, and want to beat the rebels. Let me say one thing more. I think you should admit that we already have an important principle to rally and unite the people, in the fact that constitutional government is at stake. This is a fundamental idea going down about as deep as any thing."

The committee replied to this in some brief remarks, to which the President made the following response:

"Do not misunderstand me because I have mentioned these objections. They indicate the difficulties that have thus far prevented my action in some such way as you desire. I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement. And I can assure you that the subject is on my mind, by day and night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will I will do. I trust that in the freedom with which I have canvassed your views I have not in any respect injured your feelings."

Mr. Lincoln was evidently "feeling his way," with "cautious step, but sure." Yet a complete vindication,

from the perhaps natural but unwarrantable aspirations cast upon his conscientious and cautious movements towards emancipation, was even then furnished by some of the more prominent radicals themselves. No testimony could be more direct or more earnest than the following letter from the Hon. Charles Sumner:

"SENATE CHAMBER, *June* 5, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR:—Your criticism of the President is hasty. I am confident that, if you knew him as I do, you would not make it.

"Of course, the President cannot be held responsible for the misfeasances of subordinates, unless adopted or at least tolerated by him. And I am sure that nothing unjust or ungenerous will be tolerated, much less adopted by him.

"I am happy to let you know that he has no sympathy with Stanley in his absurd wickedness, closing the schools, nor again in his other act of turning our camp into a hunting ground for slaves. He repudiates both—positively. The latter point has occupied much of his thought: and the newspapers have not gone too far in recording his repeated declarations, which I have often heard from his own lips, that slaves finding their way into the national lines are never to be reënslaved. This is his conviction, expressed without reserve.

"Could you have seen the President—as it was my privilege often—while he was considering the great questions on which he has already acted—the invitation to emancipation in the States, emancipation in the District of Columbia, and the acknowledgment of the independence of Hayti and Liberia—even your zeal would have been satisfied, for you would have felt the sincerity of his purpose to do what he could to carry forward the principles of the Declaration of Independence. His whole soul was occupied, especially by the first proposition, which was peculiarly his own. In familiar intercourse with him, I remember nothing more touching than the earnest-

ness and completeness with which he embraced this idea. To his mind, it was just and beneficent while it promised the sure end of slavery. Of course, to me who had proposed a bridge of gold for the retreating fiend, it was most welcome. Proceeding from the President, it must take its place among the great events of history.

"If you are disposed to be impatient at any seeming shortcomings, think, I pray you, of what has been done in a brief period, and from the past discern the sure promise of the future. Knowing something of my convictions, and of the ardor with which I maintain them, you may, perhaps, derive some assurance from my confidence. I may say to you, therefore, stand by the Administration. If need be, help it by word and act, but stand by it, and have faith in it.

"I wish that you really knew the President, and had heard the artless expression of his convictions on these questions which concern you so deeply. You might, perhaps, wish that he was less cautious, but you would be grateful that he is so true to all that you have at heart. Believe me, therefore, you are wrong, and I regret it the more because of my desire to see all our friends stand firmly together.

"If I write strongly it is because I feel strongly; for my constant and intimate intercourse with the President, beginning with the 4th of March, not only binds me peculiarly to his Administration, but gives me a personal as well as a political interest in seeing that justice is done him."

In the Boston *Liberator* we also find a letter from the late Hon. Owen Lovejoy, addressed to William Lloyd Garrison, under date of Washington, February 22, 1864, in which he says:

"I write you, although ill-health compels me to do it by the hands of another, to express to you my gratification at the position that you have taken in reference to Mr Lincoln. I

am satisfied, as the old theologians used to say in regard to the world, that if he is not the best conceivable President, he is the best possible. I have known something of the facts inside during his administration, and I know that he has been just as radical as any of his Cabinet. And although he does not do every thing that you or I would like, the question recurs, whether it is likely we can elect a man who would. It is evident that the great mass of Unionists prefer him for re-election; and it seems to me certain that the providence of God, during another term, will grind slavery to powder. I believe now that the President is up with the average of the House."

After due deliberation, and being satisfied that the public welfare would be promoted by, and that public sentiment would fully sustain such a step, on the 22d of September, 1862, the President issued the following prelimary

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION.

"I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.

"That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave States so-called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent or

elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the government existing there, will be continued.

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States or parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

"That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress entitled 'An Act to make an additional Article of War,' approved March 13th, 1862, and which act is in the words and figures following:

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:

"ARTICLE.—All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the pur-

pose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any person to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due; and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

"Also, to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled 'An Act to Suppress Insurrection, to Punish Treason and Rebellion, to seize and Confiscate Property of Rebels, and for other Purposes,' approved July 16, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:

"SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted,* That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found *on* [or] being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterward occupied by forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

"SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted,* That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on

the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

"And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey, and enforce, within their respective spheres of service, the act and sections above recited.

"And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight [L. S.] hundred and sixty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

This was the great official act of the year and of the century. The cause of freedom, hitherto, had proceeded in the path of progress from steps to strides; but here the Chief Magistrate made a forward leap.

This bold step soon proved its force against the traitors by the estimation in which they held it—most of the southern journals denouncing it as an incentive to the slaves to rise in insurrection. A resolution was offered in the rebel Congress, offering a reward to every negro who should, after the first of January, 1863, suc-

ceed in killing a Unionist. The shaft had "struck home" to a vital part of the Confederacy, as was evident from the rage of the rebels and those opponents of the Administration in the loyal States, and the sympathizers with secession everywhere, who insisted that it afforded unmistakable evidence that the object of the war was, what they had always declared it to be, the abolition of slavery, and not the restoration of the Union; and they put forth the most vigorous efforts to arouse public sentiment against the Administration on this ground. This was in the face of the explicit declaration of the document itself, in which the President "proclaimed and declared" that "hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States and the people thereof, in which that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed." This at once made it evident that emancipation, as provided for in the proclamation, as a war measure, was subsidiary and subordinate to the paramount object of the war—the restoration of the Union, and the re-establishment of the authority of the Constitution; and in this sense it was favorably received by the great body of the loyal people of the United States.

Two days only had elapsed since the promulgation of the Emancipation Proclamation, when another mandate of almost equal importance, dropped like a bomb-shell amid the ranks of the rebel sympathizers. This was the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. Herein it was ordered:

"*First.* That during the existing insurrection, and as a necessary measure for suppressing the same, all rebels and insur-

gents, their aiders and abettors, within the United States, and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting militia drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice affording aid and comfort to the rebels against the authority of the United States, shall be subject to martial law, and liable to trial and punishment by courts martial or military commissions.

"*Third.* That the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended in respect to all persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter during the rebellion shall be imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal, military prison, or other place of confinement, by any military authority, or by the sentence of any court martial or military commission."

This act—unquestionably called for by the growing danger of the spirit of treason being excited by the friends of slavery in the North—strengthened the President's hands to a degree exceedingly distasteful to those who were not ashamed to aid and abet the enemies of their country by voice and pen. Such dangerous characters were, at any moment, liable to be grasped by the strong hand of military law. They accordingly set up a general and doleful howl through the newspapers and speeches, proving, not only their disloyalty beyond a question, but demonstrating the wisdom of the offensive act. The beneficial effects of this order were not long in manifesting themselves, as all interference with enlistments ceased from that date.

It only remains to be added, in this connection, that on the first of January, 1863, the President followed this measure by issuing the following

PROCLAMATION.

'WHEREAS, On the twenty-second day of September, in the

year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any States or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof

respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

"Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, Ste. Marie, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

"And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States, are and henceforward shall be free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

"And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

"And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [L. S.] sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

(Signed), "ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

'By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

The deed was accomplished. The *final blow* was given, by this ACT OF EMANCIPATION, both to the rebellion and to its cause. The crisis was past, and the settlement of our national troubles was henceforth only a question of time; and, as certainly as God was on the side of right and justice, so certain was the North to triumph in the great struggle which thenceforth assumed the form of a direct issue between the powers of light and the powers of darkness. It was a momentous and yet a magnificent spectacle, when, at length, all minor considerations were left behind, and the great question was fairly met. "There, on that day, on this western continent was witnessed, not a dream of fable, but as a momentous fact, the birth of LIBERTY! Through the great travail of the nation came deliverance by the hand of ABRAHAM LINCOLN for four millions of slaves."

We cannot more fitly close this central chapter in our work, than by giving our readers the *inside history* of this document, as related by Mr. F. B. CARPENTER,* in the New York *Independent*.

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* Mr. Carpenter was the artist who executed the celebrated painting of the "First Reading in Cabinet Council of the Emancipation Proclamation," and was, for six months, while engaged upon that picture, a resident of the White House, and enjoyed the freest daily intercourse with the President, and his family.

"The summer of '62 was the gloomiest period of the war. After the most stupendous preparations known in modern warfare, McClellan, with an army of one hundred and sixty thousand men had retreated from the peninsula, after the 'seven days' severe fighting before Richmond, and great depression followed the disappointment of the brilliant hopes of the beginning of the campaign. The 'On to Richmond' had been succeeded by 'Back to Washington,' and the rebellion, flushed with success, was more defiant than ever!

"Thus far, the war had been prosecuted by the Administration without touching slavery in any manner. The reasons for this, are so admirably set forth in Mr. Lincoln's letter to Colonel Hodges, that I feel that I can do no better, in this connection, than to copy the paragraph in full:

"'I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery.

"'I did understand, however, that the very oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government—that nation of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life *and* limb must be protected;

yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution if to preserve slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution altogether. When, early in the war, General Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When, in March, and May, and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come, unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter!'

"Going over this same ground on an occasion I well remember, Mr. Lincoln said: 'The *paramount* idea of the Constitution is the preservation of the Union. It may not be specified in so many words, but of this there can be no question; for without the Union the Constitution would be worthless. The Union made the Constitution, not the Constitution the Union! It seems clear, that, if the emergency should arise that slavery, or any other institution, stood in the way of the maintenance of the Union, and the alternative was presented to the Executive of the destruction of one or the other, he could not hesitate

between the two. I can now,' he continued, 'most solemnly assert that I did all in my judgment that could be done to restore the Union without interfering with the institution of slavery. We failed, and the blow at slavery was struck.'

"I now take up the history of the Proclamation itself, as Mr. Lincoln gave it to me, on the occasion of our first interview, as written down by myself soon afterward:

"'It had got to be,' said he, 'mid-summer, 1862. Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy; and without consultation with or the knowledge of the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the Proclamation, and after much anxious thought called a Cabinet meeting upon the subject. This was the last of July or the first part of the month of August, 1862.' (The exact date he did not remember.) 'This Cabinet meeting took place, I think, upon a Saturday. All were present excepting Mr. Blair, the Postmaster-General, who was absent at the opening of the discussion, but came in subsequently. I said to the Cabinet that I had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject-matter of a proclamation before them—suggestions as to which would be in order, after they had heard it read. Mr. Lovejoy,' said he, 'was in error when he informed you that it excited no comment excepting on the part of Secretary Seward. Various suggestions were offered. Secretary Chase wished the language stronger in reference to the arming of the blacks. Mr. Blair, after he came in, deprecated the policy, on the ground that it would cost the Administration the fall elections. Nothing however was offered that I had not already fully anticipated and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. Said he: 'Mr. President, I approve of the Proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depres-

sion of the public mind consequent upon our repeated reverses is so great, that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government—a cry for help—the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government.' 'His idea,' said the President, 'was that it would be considered our last *shriek* on the retreat.' (This was his *precise* expression.) 'Now,' continued Mr. Seward, 'while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue until you can give it to the country supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war.' Said Mr. Lincoln: 'The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case, that, in all my thought upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was, that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory. From time to time I added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, waiting the progress of events. Well, the next news we had was of Pope's disaster at Bull Run. Things looked darker than ever. Finally, came the week of the battle of Antietam. I determined to wait no longer. The news came, I think on Wednesday, that the advantage was on our side. I was then staying at the 'Soldiers' Home,' (three miles out of Washington.) 'Here I finished writing the second draft of the preliminary proclamation; came up on Saturday; called the Cabinet together to hear it, and it was published the following Monday.'

"'It was a somewhat remarkable fact,' he continued, 'that there was just one hundred days between the dates of the two proclamations, issued upon the 22d of September and the 1st of January. I had not made the calculation at the time.'

"At the final meeting on Saturday, another interesting incident occurred in connection with Secretary Seward. The President had written the important part of the Proclamation in these words:

"'That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever FREE; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will *recognize* the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.' 'When I finished reading this paragraph,' resumed Mr. Lincoln, 'Mr. Seward stopped me, and said, 'I think, Mr. President, that you should insert after the word '*recognize*' in that sentence, the words '*and maintain.*' I replied that I had already fully considered the import of that expression in this connection, but I had not introduced it because it was not my way to promise what I was not entirely *sure* that I could perform, and I was not prepared to say that I thought we were exactly able to 'maintain' this.

"'But,' said he, 'Mr. Seward insisted that we ought to take this ground; and the words finally went in.'

"In February last, a few days after the passage of the 'Constitutional Amendment,' I was in Washington, and was received by Mr. Lincoln with the kindness and familiarity which had characterized our previous intercourse. I said to him one day that I was very proud to have been the artist to have first conceived of the design of painting a picture commemorative of the Act of Emancipation—that subsequent occurrences had only confirmed my own first judgment of that act as the most sublime moral event in our history. 'Yes,' said he, and never do I remember to have noticed in him more earnestness of expression or manner, 'AS AFFAIRS HAVE TURNED, IT IS THE CENTRAL ACT OF MY ADMINISTRATION AND THE GREAT EVENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.'

"I remember to have asked him, on one occasion, if there was not some opposition manifested on the part of several

members of the Cabinet to the emancipation policy. He said, in reply: 'Nothing more than I have stated to you. Mr. Blair thought we should lose the fall elections, and opposed it on that ground only.' Said I, 'I have understood that Secretary Smith was not in favor of your action. Mr. Blair told me that, when the meeting closed, he and the Secretary of the Interior went away together, and that the latter told him, if the President carried out that policy, he might count on losing *Indiana*, sure!' 'He never said any thing of the kind to me,' returned the President. 'And how,' said I, 'does Mr. Blair feel about it now?' 'Oh,' was the prompt reply, 'he proved right in regard to the fall elections, but he is satisfied that we have since gained more than we lost!' 'I have been told,' said I, 'that Judge Bates doubted the constitutionality of the Proclamation.' 'He never expressed such an opinion in my hearing,' replied Mr. Lincoln. 'No member of the Cabinet ever dissented from the policy, in any conversation with me.'

"There was one marked element of Mr. Lincoln's character admirably expressed by the Hon. Schuyler Colfax, in his oration at Chicago upon his death: 'When his judgment, which acted slowly, but which was almost as immovable as the eternal hills when settled, was grasping some subject of importance, the arguments against his own desires seemed uppermost in his mind, and, in conversing upon it, he would present those arguments to see if they could be rebutted.'

"In illustration of this, I need only here recall the fact that the interview between himself and the Chicago delegation of clergymen, appointed to urge upon him the issue of a Proclamation of Emancipation, took place September 13, 1862, *just about a month after the President had declared his established purpose to take this step* at the Cabinet meeting which I have described. He said to this committee: 'I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet!' After drawing out

their views upon the subject, he concluded the interview with these memorable words:

"'Do not misunderstand me, because I have mentioned these objections. They indicate the difficulties which have thus far prevented my action in some such way as you desire. I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement. And I can assure you that the subject is on my mind by day and night, more than any other. *Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do!* I trust that, in the freedom with which I have canvassed your views, I have not in any respect injured your feelings.'

"In further illustration of this peculiarity of his mind, I will say here, to silence for ever the cavils of those who have asserted that he was forced by the pressure of public opinion to nominate Mr. Chase as Judge Taney's successor, that, notwithstanding his apparent hesitation upon this subject, and all that was reported at the time in the newspapers as to the chances of the various candidates, it is a fact well known to several of his most intimate friends that 'there had never been a time during his Presidency, that, in the event of the death of Judge Taney, he had not fully intended and expected to nominate SALMON P. CHASE for Chief Justice!' These were his very words uttered in this connection!

"Mr. Chase told me that at the Cabinet meeting, immediately after the battle of Antietam, and just prior to the issue of the September Proclamation, the President entered upon the business before them, by saying that 'the time for the announciation of the emancipation policy could no longer be delayed. Public sentiment,' he thought, 'would sustain it, many of his warmest friends and supporters demanded it—*and he had promised his God that he would do it!*' The last part of this was uttered in a low tone, and appeared to be heard by no one but Secretary Chase, who was sitting near him. He asked the President if he correctly understood him. Mr. Lincoln replied, '*I made a solemn vow before God that, if General Lee was driven back from*

Pennsylvania, I would crown the result by the declaration of freedom to the slaves!'

"In concluding this article, it will perhaps be expected that I should take some notice of an assertion made originally in an editorial article in *The Independent*, upon the withdrawal of Mr. Chase from the political canvass of 1864, and widely copied, in which it was stated that the concluding paragraph of the Proclamation was from the pen of Secretary Chase. One of Mr. Lincoln's intimate friends (this incident was related to me by the gentleman himself), who felt that there was an impropriety in this publication at that time, for which Mr. Chase was in some degree responsible, went to see the President about it. 'Oh,' said Mr. Lincoln, with his characteristic simplicity and freedom from all suspicion, 'Mr. Chase had nothing to do with it. I think *I* mentioned the circumstance to Mr. Tilton, myself.'

"The facts in the case are these: While the measure was pending, Mr. Chase submitted to the President a draft of a proclamation embodying his views upon the subject, which closed with the appropriate and solemn words referred to: 'And upon this act, believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God!'

"Mr. Lincoln adopted this sentence intact, excepting that he inserted after the word 'Constitution' the words 'upon military necessity.'

"Thus is ended what I have long felt to be a duty I owed to the world—the record of circumstances attending the preparation and issue of the third great state paper which has marked the progress of our Anglo-Saxon civilization.

"First is the 'MAGNA CHARTA,' wrested by the barons of England from King John; second, the 'DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,' and third, worthy to be placed upon the tablets of history, side by side with the first two, is 'ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION!'

Apropos, also, to the same subject, are the reminiscences of the Rev. MONCURE D. CONWAY, which appeared in the (London) "*Fortnightly Review*" of May 15, 1865. He says:

"Early in the war I had the opportunity of a private interview with the President. The hour of eight in the morning was named by him, and I found that even that was not early enough for his work to begin. In the ante-rooom was a young woman with her child, whose plea the President would hear. Sad and tearful when she presently entered his room, she was radiant enough on her return, and doubtless some poor prisoner was set free that day to return home. My friend and I were also there to plead for prisoners; believing that the hour had come when slavery had earned the right to perish by the sword which it had taken, we came to implore the President to be our deliverer from this fearful demon that had so long harried the land and poisoned life for all who loved their country or justice. The President listened very patiently, and gave us his views fully. The words which remain now most deeply fixed in my memory are these:—'We grow in this direction daily; and I am not without hope that some great thing is to be accomplished. When the hour comes for dealing with slavery I trust I shall be willing to act, though it costs my life; and gentlemen,' he added, with a sad smile and a solemn tone, '*lives will be lost.*'

"Throughout the conversation the President spoke with profound feeling of the Southerners, who, he said, had become at an early day, when there was at least a feeble conscience against slavery, deeply involved commercially and socially with the institution; he pitied them heartily, all the more that it had corrupted them; and he earnestly advised us to use what influence we might have to impress on the people the feeling that they should be ready and eager to share largely the pecuniary losses to which the South would be subjected if emancipation

should occur. It was, he said, the disease of the entire nation, and all must share the suffering of its removal. It was entirely through this urgency of Mr. Lincoln to all whom he met, that all the slaves in the District of Columbia were paid for when liberated (though many thought the slave himself was the real owner to be paid), and a full price offered by Congress to all slave States that would, even gradually, emancipate their slaves.

"Mr. Lincoln had much more fortitude than heroism in his temperament, and his slow, gradual political methods seemed at times, when martial law was alone possible, like trying to fire off a gun a little at a time. He invited popular criticism as a means of knowing what measures, especially relating to slavery, the country was 'up to;' and no man was ever less spared. Many of the abolitionists criticised him fiercely, for he represented a policy which they had reason to fear would close up the war power before it had crushed the scource of the national troubles. The President was generally patient under these criticisms, which he knew were not made in the spirit of personal antagonism. The nearest approach to a complaint I ever heard him utter was to Wendell Phillips and some others, from Boston. 'I fear,' he said, 'that some of the severity with which this Administration is criticised, results from the fact that so many of us have had so long to act with minorities that we have got an uncontrollable *habit* of criticising.' This was said with an unfeigned humility, and the feeling of all present was fitly expressed by Mr. Phillips, who promptly declared to the President that he knew no one who would prefer any man for the next Presidential term to Abraham Lincoln, provided it were certain that the work of emancipation was to be firmly prosecuted. 'Oh, Mr. Phillips,' exclaimed the President, with a childlike simplicity, 'if I have ever indulged *that* hope, and I do not say I have not, it has long ago been beaten out of me.' He went to hear that greatest of American orators (Mr. Phillips) at the Smithsonian Institute, and sat calmly to hear the severe

review of his own policy. A letter which he wrote to the editors of the *North American Review*, which has not before been published, I believe, in England, is characteristic of his temper. That *Review* had published an article entitled 'The President's Policy,' containing the following paragraph:—

"'Even so long ago as when Mr. Lincoln, not yet convinced of the danger and magnitude of the crisis, was endeavoring to persuade himself of Union majorities at the South, and to carry on a war that was half peace, in hope of a peace that would have been all war; while he was still enforcing the fugitive slave law, under some theory that secession, however it might absolve States from their obligations, could not escheat them of their claims under the Constitution, and that slaveholders in rebellion had alone, among mortals, the privilege of having their cake and eating it at the same time—the enemies of free government were striving to persuade the people that the war was an abolition crusade.'

"To this Mr. Lincoln responded, under date of January 16, 1864, as follows:

"'GENTLEMEN:—The number for this year and month of the *North American Review* was duly received, and for it please accept my thanks. Of course I am not the most impartial judge, yet, with due allowance for this, I venture to hope that the article entitled 'The President's Policy' will be of value to the country. I fear I am not quite worthy of all which is therein kindly said of me personally.

"The sentence of twelve lines commencing at the top of page 252, I could wish to be not exactly as it is. In what is there expressed the writer has not correctly understood me. I have never had a theory that secession could absolve States or people from their obligations. Precisely the opposite is asserted in the inaugural address; and it was because of my belief in the continuance of these obligations that I was puzzled, for a time, as to denying the legal rights of those citizens who re

mained individually innocent of treason or rebellion. But I mean no more now than to merely call attention to this point.

'Yours respectfully,

'A. LINCOLN.'

"It is natural that in the presence of the grave, wherein questions of individual policy are buried, and on which traits of personal character bloom with fresh beauty, these critics of the President should be harshly judged. It should be remembered, however, that if the President had a heavy burden to bear, so had they who were set to watch the war in the special interest of emancipation. At one time Mr. Lincoln was proposing to send the negroes out of the country, at another to abolish slavery in the year 1900, at another to reconstruct States with a tenth of their former population, and that tenth made up exclusively of the lately disloyal whites, in whose rooted hatred of the Union his patriotic heart found it impossible to believe. But those words 'for a time,' in the letter to the *North American Review* indicated the fact that Mr. Lincoln grew as the people grew. An able writer has pronounced the truest judgment upon him in saying:—'He became great—as such natures do become great—by the action of the ennobling duties of such a station, upon a mind honest, courageous, conscientious and truthful.' Mr. Lincoln would be the last to be ungenerous to his reviewers. In a conversation with some western anti-slavery men, when I was present, he said, good-humoredly,—'Well, gentlemen, all I can say is, we shall want all the anti-slavery feeling in the country, and more; go home and screw the people up to it, and you may say any thing you like about me, if that will help.' There was, indeed, a time when the country was much excited against him, on account of the length of time in which he clung to a general about whose loyalty there were many doubts, but about whose incapacity and devotion to slavery there were none at all. Amongst the many protests which were uttered, some written by Rev. H. W. Beecher were of marked power, and very scathing. Some one

clipped these from the *Independent*, in which they first appeared, and sent them to the President, who undertook, on a rainy Sunday, to read them; he had not, however, read very far before he became indignant, and leaping from his chair, exclaimed to some one present, 'Am I a dog or a man?' Nevertheless the nation very soon began to realize the good effect of those articles which, in the great rush of war, had the fortune to be read."

CHAPTER XII.

THE MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE YEAR 1862.

OPERATIONS IN THE WEST AND SOUTHWEST.—Battle of Mill Spring, Ky.—The Burnside Expedition.—Capture of Forts Donelson and Henry.—Surrender of Nashville, Tenn.—Capture of Fort Pulaski.—The Rebels Driven from Missouri.—Capture of Island No. 10.—Of Forts Pillow and Randolph, on the Mississippi.—Surrender of Memphis.—The Battle of Pittsburg Landing.—Proclamation for a day of National Thanksgiving.—Capture of New Orleans.—Invasion of Kentucky.—Battle of Corinth.—Battle of Murfreesboro, and Tennessee freed from Rebel rule.

OPERATIONS IN EASTERN VIRGINIA.—The President issues an Order for a general advance of the national forces.—General McClellan's hesitancy and delay.—Reiterated orders to move.—Letter from the President.—The advance on Yorktown.—Battle of Williamsburg—More delay, more Letters and Orders.—Delay, delay, delay.—Orders, and excuses *ad infinitum et ad nauseam*.—The Seven Days' Battles.—The close of the Peninsula Campaign.—Pope placed in command of Army of Virginia.—He is defeated.—McClellan reinstated, and commences another advance on Richmond.—The old story of delay.—The Battle of Antietam.—McClellan relieved from command.—The President's defence of McClellan.—The President's opinion of McClellan.—The Routine of Mr. Lincoln's daily life at this period.

LET us now turn our attention awhile to the military operations of the year 1862, a full consideration of which is necessary to a proper understanding of some of Mr. Lincoln's most important actions.* These movements, in every part of the country, except in Eastern

* In tracing the military history of the year 1862, we have largely availed ourselves of the excellent resumé given by Hon. H. J. Raymond, in his admirable *History of the Administration of President Lincoln*, of which we are glad to learn that a new and enlarged edition will soon appear, from the press of Messrs. Derby & Miller, New York.

Virginia, were marked by promptitude and vigor, and attended with success to the national arms. In January the victory of Mill Springs had released Western Kentucky from rebel rule, and opened Eastern Tennessee to an advance of the Union armies. Early in February following, the "Burnside Expedition" had effected a lodgment for the Union arms upon the coast of North Carolina; and the President's order for an advance of all the forces of the government on the twenty-second of the same month, was promptly followed by the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, on the Cumberland river, which caused the evacuation of Bowling Green, the surrender of Nashville, and the fall of Columbus, the rebel stronghold on the Mississippi. Fort Pulaski, guarding the entrance to Savannah, surrendered after an eighteen hours' bombardment, on the twelfth of April, and the whole coast of Florida was occupied by the Union forces. In the Western Department, General Halleck's strategy and General Curtis's energy had driven General Price from Missouri, and badly beaten him at a subsequent battle in Arkansas. Island No. 10, commanding the passage of the Mississippi, fell into the hands of General Pope, and, on the fourth of June, Forts Pillow and Randolph, lower down on the same river, were occupied by "the boys in blue;" this being followed, two days later, by the surrender of Memphis. Then came the grandly-contested battle of Pittsburg Landing, near Corinth—which, opening as a disaster, closed as a glorious victory to the national arms. When news of the successes reached Washington, President Lincoln issued the following proclamation:

"It has pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe signal victories to the land and naval forces engaged in suppressing an internal rebellion, and at the same time to avert from our country the dangers of foreign intervention and invasion.

"It is therefore recommended to the people of the United States, that at their next weekly assemblages, in their accustomed places of public worship, which shall occur after the notice of this proclamation shall have been received, they especially acknowledge and render thanks to our Heavenly Father for these inestimable blessings; that they then and there implore spiritual consolation in behalf of all those who have been brought into affliction by the casualties and calamities of sedition and civil war; and that they reverently invoke the Divine guidance for our national counsels, to the end that they may speedily result in the restoration of peace, harmony and unity throughout our borders, and hasten the establishment of fraternal relations among all the countries of the earth.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred
[L. S.] and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-sixth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

On the 28th of May the rebels evacuated Corinth, being vigorously pushed in pursuit by our forces for some twenty-five or thirty miles. In the latter part of April, Huntsville, in Alabama, was occupied by General Mitchell's troops; and during the same month, a formidable naval expedition, which had been fitted out under Commodore Farragut for the capture of New Orleans, commenced its operations by an attack upon Forts Jack-

son and St. Philip, by which the passage of the Mississippi below the city is guarded. After six days' bombardment, the whole fleet passed the forts on the night of the 23d, under a terrible fire from both; and on the 25th, Farragut took possession of the town.

During the summer, a powerful rebel force, under General Bragg, invaded Kentucky, for the double purpose of obtaining supplies and affording a rallying point for what they believed to be the secession sentiment of the State. In the former object they were more successful than in the latter. The number of recruits gained was more than balanced by their loss by desertions, and after the battle of Perryville, October 7th, they began a retreat. On the 5th of the same month occurred the battle of Corinth, resulting in the complete repulse of the rebels by General Rosecrans, and the virtual close of the campaign in Kentucky and Tennessee. A final effort of the enemy to maintain possession of that region, led to a severe engagement at Murfreesborough, on the 31st of December, which resulted in the defeat of the rebel forces, and in the relief of Tennessee from the presence of their armies.

In sad contrast to these successes in the west and southwest, were the military events in the east. The fortifications around the city of Washington had been essentially completed before the close of September, 1861, so that thenceforth a large portion of the Army of the Potomac was no longer needed for merely defensive duty. General McClellan, who had succeeded General Scott in command in November, 1861, officially estimated his entire force on the 1st of December, as one hundred and ninety-eight thousand two hundred

and thirteen, of whom one hundred and sixty-nine thousand four hundred and fifty-two were present for duty, and on the 1st of January, 1862, as two hundred and nineteen thousand seven hundred and seven, of whom one hundred and ninety-one thousand four hundred and eighty were "effective." Deducting, therefore, the fifty-eight thousand, which in the month of October previous he had deemed necessary for the protection and defence of Washington, he had at the beginning of 1862, one hundred and thirty-three thousand four hundred and eighty men with whom to make an aggressive movement—a force certainly twice as large as that of the enemy who confronted him. The season was unusually favorable for military operations—the troops admirably organized and disciplined, and in the highest state of efficiency—in numbers, known to be far superior to those of the rebels, while all, from the highest officer to the humblest private, were animated with an eager desire to be led against the enemy. There was, both in the minds of the Administration and of the people, to use McClellan's own words, "an excessive anxiety for an immediate movement of the Army of the Potomac." As the approach of winter brought with it little or no indication of an intended movement of our armies, the public impatience naturally rose to the highest point of discontent. The Administration, of course, was obliged to bear the responsibility of these unaccountable delays; it was accused of a design to protract the war for political purposes of its own; and at the ensuing fall election the public dissatisfaction was strongly manifested by adverse votes in every considerable State where elections were held.

Unable longer to endure this state of affairs, President Lincoln, on the 27th of January, issued an order appointing the 22d of February as the day for a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces. This general order was followed, four days after, by a special command to McClellan, to put the Army of the Potomac in motion towards Manassas, with the object of engaging the rebel army in front of Washington by a flank attack, and by its defeat, relieve that city, put Richmond at our mercy, and break the main strength of the rebellion by the destruction of its principal army. Against this the dilatory general remonstrated, and urged a plan of his own, which elicited from Mr. Lincoln the following letter of inquiry:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *February* 3, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR:—You and I have distinct and different plans for a movement of the Army of the Potomac; yours to be done by the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbana, and across land to the terminus of the railroad on the York river; mine to move directly to a point on the railroad southwest of Manassas.

"If you will give satisfactory answers to the following questions, I shall gladly yield my plan to yours:

"1st. Does not your plan involve a greatly larger expenditure of *time* and *money* than mine?

"2d. Wherein is a victory *more certain* by your plan than mine?

"3d. Wherein is a victory *more valuable* by your plan than mine?

"4th. In fact, would it not be *less* valuable in this: that it would break no great line of the enemy's communications, while mine would?

"5th. In case of disaster, would not a retreat be more difficult by your plan than mine?

"Yours truly, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN."

These plain test-questions were never directly met. The subject remained for some time under consideration, the President's order not withdrawn, but its execution suspended, while McClellan, under urgent pressure from his superiors, commenced to open the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. On the 26th of February he announced the occupation of Loudon, Bolivar and Maryland Heights, by our troops, and the expected arrival of a large force of rebels at Winchester. Then, after considerable delay, as well as expense, in the construction of canal boats for crossing the upper Potomac, he found, on proceeding to use them (a considerable force intended for Winchester being already under orders), that "the lift-lock" was too small to allow of the boats passing to their destination. This provoked from Mr. Stanton this laconic reply: "General McClellan—If the lift-lock is not big enough, why cannot it be made big enough? Please answer immediately." But, as to do this, the entire masonry must be destroyed and rebuilt, the boats so long and patiently waited for, were dispensed with, and marching orders countermanded.

The general, after having revoked an order already given for raising the blockade of the Potomac—a measure earnestly desired by the Administration—then returned to Washington, and began the movement on Manassas, as required by the President's order of January 31st—a full month having now intervened. Then followed the campaign of Generals Shields and

Banks, in the Shenandoah valley—resulting in the retreat of the rebels, and the comparative quiet of that section of the country, for the ensuing two months.

The results at Harper's Ferry, as well as the delay in raising the blockade of the lower Potomac, were far from satisfactory to the President. The day fixed for a general movement had passed, and the advance on Richmond by the Chesapeake was by this time impracticable, unless by the roundabout way of Annapolis, until the Potomac had first been cleared of the rebel batteries. Meanwhile, as early as the 15th of February, measures had been taken by the Secretary of War to secure with promptness the necessary transportation by water, for the forces to be moved; a fact fully indicating the willingness of the Administration to acquiesce in a plan on which the commanding general seemed to have set his heart, rather than to insist on a preferable movement, yet which could hardly be expected to succeed under the reluctant generalship of one who felt no confidence in its success, and who evinced no alacrity in its execution.

McClellan still hesitated, conjuring up all manner of possible contingencies, which *might* prove insuperable obstacles to the President's plan; and finally, wearied with his steady resistance and unwillingness to enter upon the prosecution of any other than his own plan, Mr. Lincoln consented to submit the matter to a council of twelve officers held late in February, at headquarters. The decision of this council, although unfavorable to his own views, was promptly acquiesced in by the President, who, thereupon, ordered the organization of the Army of the Potomac into four army corps; making full pro-

vision, however, for the full protection and security of Washington. On the 9th of March, the day following the order, McClellan, learning that the enemy had abandoned his position in front of Washington, led his troops on what the Prince de Joinville, one of his staff, styled "a promenade" to Manassas, which they found abandoned by the enemy; and on the 15th, the army was ordered back to Alexandria.

About this time, also, occurred the celebrated naval contest between the formidable rebel iron-clad "Merrimac" (or Virginia) and the hitherto untried Ericsson "Monitor," and which not only startled the whole country, but produced such a marked influence in regard to naval armaments everywhere.

On the 11th, McClellan having personally taken the field at the head of the Army of the Potomac, was relieved from command of his department. General Halleck was assigned to the Department of the Mississippi, and the Mountain Department was created for General Fremont.

These matters having been arranged, the following communication was addressed to the commanding general:

"War Department, *March* 13, 1862.

"The President having considered the plan of operations agreed upon by yourself and the commanders of army corps, makes no objection to the same, but gives the following directions as to its execution:

"1. Leave such force at Manassas Junction as shall make it entirely certain that the enemy shall not repossess himself of that position and line of communication.

"2. Leave Washington entirely secure.

"3. Move the remainder of the force down the Potomac,

choosing a new base at Fortress Monroe, or anywhere between here and there, or, *at all events, move such remainder of the army at once in pursuit of the enemy by some route.*

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

"Major-General GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN."

It will be seen from the tone of these orders, that the President, as well as the whole country, had been greatly amazed by the unaccountable delay of the Army of the Potomac to move against the enemy at Manassas, and that this feeling became one of chagrin and mortification when the rebels were allowed to withdraw from that position without molestation, and without suspicion until their design had been carried into complete and successful execution. He was impatiently anxious, therefore, that no more time should be lost in delays. General McClellan, before embarking for the Peninsula, had communicated his intention of reaching, without loss of time, the field of what he believed would be a decisive battle, somewhere between West Point and Richmond. On the 31st of March, the President, in yielding to the importunities of General Fremont and his friends, and from a belief that this officer needed a much larger force than he then had at his command in the Mountain Department, ordered General Blenker's division, of the Army of the Potomac, to join him, a decision which he announced to General McClellan in the following letter:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *March* 31, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR: This morning I felt constrained to order Blenker's division to Fremont, and I write this to assure you I did so with great pain, understanding that you would wish it otherwise. If you could know the full pressure of the case, I

am confident that you would justify it, even beyond a mere acknowledgment that the Commander-in-Chief may order what he pleases.

"Yours, very truly, A. LINCOLN.

"Major-General McCLELLAN."

McClellan being now in motion up the Peninsula, halted in the vicinity of Yorktown, and reconnoitred, writing on the sixth to the President that he had but eighty-five thousand men fit for duty—that the whole line of the Warwick river was strongly fortified—that it was quite certain that he should "have the whole force of the enemy on his hands, probably not less than one hundred thousand men, and probably more." and that seige operations should be commenced as soon as he could could get up his train. He entered, accordingly, upon this work, telegraphing from time to time complaints that he was not sufficiently supported by the government, and asking for reinforcements.

On the 9th of April President Lincoln addressed him the following letter:

"WASHINGTON, *April* 9, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your dispatches, complaining that you are not properly sustained, while they do not offend me, do pain me very much.

"Blenker's division was withdrawn from you before you left here, and you know the pressure under which I did it, and, as I thought, acquiesced in it—certainly not without reluctance.

"After you left, I ascertained that less than twenty thousand unorganized men, without a single field battery, were all you designed to be left for the defence of Washington and Manassas Junction, and part of this even was to go to General Hooker's old position. General Banks's corps, once designed for Man-

assas Junction, was diverted and tied up on the line of Winchester and Strasburg, and could not leave it without again exposing the Upper Potomac and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This presented, or would present, when McDowell and Sumner should be gone, a great temptation to the enemy to turn back from the Rappahannock and sack Washington. My implicit order that Washington should, by the judgment of all the commanders of army corps, be left entirely secure, had been neglected. It was precisely this that drove me to detain McDowell.

"I do not forget that I was satisfied with your arrangement to leave Banks at Manassas Junction; but when that arrangement was broken up, and nothing was substituted for it, of course I was constrained to substitute something for it myself. And allow me to ask, do you really think I should permit the line from Richmond, *via* Manassas Junction to this city, to be entirely open, except what resistance could be presented by less than twenty thousand unorganized troops? This is a question which the country will not allow me to evade.

"There is a curious mystery about the number of troops now with you. When I telegraphed you on the sixth, saying you had over a hundred thousand with you, I had just obtained from the Secretary of War a statement taken, as he said, from your own returns, making one hundred and eight thousand then with you and *en route* to you. You now say you will have but eighty-five thousand when all *en route* to you shall have reached you. How can the discrepancy of twenty-three thousand be accounted for?*

* Gen. McClellan, in the early part of that report, quotes, without contradiction or objection, the following statement of Mr. Tucker, Assistant Secretary of War, showing that he had landed at Fortress Monroe, by the 6th day of April (having received the final order as early as the 28th of February), 121,500 men for McClellan, with a number of wagons and animals manifestly well proportioned to these numbers:

"In thirty-seven days from the time I received the order in Washington (and most of it was accomplished in thirty days), these vessels transported from Perryville, Alexandria, and Washington to Fort Monroe (the place

"As to General Wool's command, I understand it is doing for you precisely what a like number of your own would have to do if that command was away.

"I suppose the whole force which has gone forward for you is with you by this time. And if so, I think it is the precise time for you to strike a blow. By delay the enemy will relatively gain upon you—that is, he will gain faster by fortifications and reinforcements than you can by reinforcements alone. And once more let me tell you, it is indispensable to you to strike a blow. I am powerless to help this. *You will do me the justice to remember I always insisted that going down the bay in search of a field, instead of fighting at or near Manassas, was only shifting, and not surmounting, a difficulty; that we would find the same enemy, and the same or equal intrenchments, at either place. The country will not fail to note, is now noting, that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated.*

"I beg to assure you that I have never written you or spoken to you in greater kindness of feeling than now, nor with a fuller purpose to sustain you, so far as, in my most anxious judgment, I consistently can. *But you must act.*

"Yours, very truly, "A. LINCOLN.

"Major-General McCLELLAN."

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of departure having been changed, which caused delay), one hundred and twenty-one thousand five hundred men, fourteen thousand five hundred and ninety-two animals, one thousand one hundred and fifty wagons, forty-four batteries, seventy-four ambulances, besides pontoon bridges, telegraph materials, and the enormous quantity of equipage, etc., required for an army of such magnitude."

Yet McClellan telegraphed to the President on the 7th of April: "My entire force for duty only amounts to 85,000." Six days later, before receiving reinforcements, McClellan himself reported his force (as officially certified by Adj.-Gen. Thomas,) to be 117,721, of whom 100,970 were present for duty. In addition to this was the considerable force of Gen. Wool, on which he was authorized to draw at will. McDowell's command also, had been, so far as practicable, put in a position for at once sustaining him and covering Washington.

In this letter the President but echoed the impatience and eagerness of the whole country. The most careful inquiries made, at the time, by General Wool, satisfied him that Yorktown was held by an inconsiderable force of the enemy; and subsequent disclosures rendered it quite certain that this force was utterly inadequate to the defence of the position, so that a prompt movement upon it would have caused its immediate surrender, and enabled our army to advance at once upon Richmond.

The President, in a note dated April 6th, had said to General McClellan:

"You now have over one hundred thousand troops with you, independent of Gen. Wool's command. *I think you had better break the enemy's line from Yorktown to Warwick river at once.* They will probably use time as advantageously as you can."

In disregarding this pointed and sensible advice—a grave, though not irretrievable, error was committed at the outset of the campaign. General Burnside had accomplished, at Newbern, on the 14th of the previous month, an incomparably more difficult task in carrying the works of the enemy, when manned by numbers fully equal to his own, and this was done, also, with comparatively raw recruits.

General McClellan decided, however, to approach it by a regular siege; and it was not until this design had become apparent, that the rebel government began to reinforce Magruder.* He continued his requests for

* *Extract* from Gen. Magruder's official report of May 3d, 1862, as published by order of the Confederate Congress: "Every preparation was made in anticipation of another attack by the enemy. The men slept

additional reinforcements, transportation and cannon, all of which were forwarded to him as promptly and lavishly as possible. Meanwhile thousands sickened and died in the trenches. The nation grew weary of the same disheartening news, day by day, and week after week.

Presently there came a request for Parott guns, which drew from the President the following response:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *May* 1, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:—Your call for Parott guns from Washington alarms me—chiefly because it argues indefinite procrastination. *Is any thing to be done?*

"A. LINCOLN."

After a month spent in this way, the President urging action with the utmost earnestness, and the general delaying from day to day on all sorts of pretexts, our army woke up one fine morning (the 4th of May) to find that Yorktown, which they had so carefully watched, was entirely empty—and nothing remained for McClellan but to promise, as he did in announcing the event to the government, that "no time would be lost" in the pursuit, and that he should "push the enemy to the wall." General Stoneman was, indeed, sent forward with a column of cavalry to overtake

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in the trenches and under arms, *but, to my utter surprise, he permitted day after day to elapse without an assault.*

"In a few days the object of his delay was apparent. *In every direction in front of our lines, through the intervening woods and along the open fields, earthworks began to appear.* Through the energetic action of the government reinforcements began to pour in, and *each hour the army of the Peninsula grew stronger and stronger, until anxiety passed from my mind as to the result of any attack upon us.*

* * * *

"J. BANKHEAD MAGRUDER, *Major-General.*"

the retreating enemy, which he succeeded in doing on the same day, and was repulsed. On the 5th, the advance-guard came up and found the rebel rear-guard strongly fortified, and prepared to dispute the advance of their pursuers. Then ensued the battle of Williamsburg, gallantly fought almost without the knowledge of the commanding general, who, indeed, was exceedingly dissatisfied with his corps commanders for venturing the engagement in his absence. It resulted, however, in the enemy's abandonment of his position and retreat up the Peninsula.

General McClellan did not understand that this was simply an attempt of the rebel rear-guard to cover the retreat of the main force. He countermanded an order for the advance of two divisions; sent them back to Yorktown; and in a despatch sent to the War Department the same night, he speaks of the battle as an engagement with the whole rebel army. "I find," he says, "General Joe Johnson in front of me in strong force, probably greater, a good deal, than my own." Reiterating his complaints of the inferiority of his command, he promises to do all he can "with the force at his disposal," and to "run the *risk* of at least *holding them in check* here (at Williamsburg) while he resumed the original plan"—which was to move Franklin's corps to West Point by water. The direct pursuit of the retreating rebel army, however, was abandoned—owing, as the general said, to the bad state of the roads, which rendered it impracticable. Five days spent at Williamsburg, enabled the rebels, notwithstanding the "state of the roads," to withdraw their whole force across the Chickahominy, and establish themselves

within the fortifications in front of Richmond; and when, on the morning of the 7th, General Franklin landed at West Point, he was too late to intercept the main body of the retreating enemy, but was met by a strong rear-guard, with whom he had a sharp and fruitless engagement.

Norfolk, in the meantime, had been taken by General Wool, and the President and Secretary of War were on a visit at Fortress Monroe. It was while here that the Secretary of War received the following despatch from General McClellan, dated May 9:

"To Hon. E. M. Stanton, *Secretary of War:*—I respectfully ask permission to re-organize the army corps. I am not willing to be held responsible for the present arrangement, experience having proved it to be very bad, and it having nearly resulted in a most disastrous defeat. I wish rather to return to the organization by divisions, or else to be authorized to relieve incompetent commanders of army corps. Had I been one-half hour later on the field on the 5th, we would have been routed, and would have lost every thing. Notwithstanding my positive orders, I was informed of nothing that had occurred, and I went to the field of battle myself upon unofficial information that my presence was needed to avoid defeat. I found there the utmost confusion and incompetency, the utmost discouragement on the part of the men. At least a thousand lives were really sacrificed by the organization into corps. I have too much regard for the lives of my comrades, and too deep an interest in the success of our cause, to hesitate for a moment. I learn that you are equally in earnest, and I therefore again request full and complete authority to relieve from duty with this army commanders of corps or divisions who find themselves incompetent.

"G. B. McClellan, *Major-General Commanding.*"

To this Secretary Stanton replied, in substance: "The President directs me to say that you 'may temporarily suspend that organization in the army now under your immediate command, and adopt any you see fit until further orders.' He also writes you privately." The President's letter, thus referred to, is as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA,
FORT MONROE, VA., *May* 9, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

"MY DEAR SIR:—I have just assisted the Secretary of War in framing the part of a despatch to you relating to army corps, which despatch, of course, will have reached you long before this will. I wish to say a few words to you privately on this subject. I ordered the army corps organization not only on the unanimous opinion of the twelve generals whom you had selected and assigned as generals of divisions, but also on the unanimous opinion of every *military man* I could get an opinion from, and every modern military book, yourself only excepted. Of course, I did not on my own judgment pretend to understand the subject. I now think it indispensable for you to know how your struggle against it is received in quarters which we cannot entirely disregard. It is looked upon as merely an effort to pamper one or two pets, and to persecute and degrade their supposed rivals. I have had no word from Sumner, Heintzelman, or Keyes—the commanders of these corps are, of course, the three highest officers with you; but I am constantly told that you have no consultation or communication with them; that you consult and communicate with nobody but General Fitz John Porter, and perhaps General Franklin. I do not say these complaints are true or just; but, at all events, it is proper you should know of their existence. Do the commanders of corps disobey your orders in any thing?

"When you relieved General Hamilton of his command the other day, you thereby lost the confidence of at least one of your best friends in the Senate. And here let me say, not

as applicable to you personally, that Senators and Representatives speak of *me* in their places as they please without question, and that officers of the army must cease addressing insulting letters to them for taking no greater liberty with *them*.

"But to return. Are you strong enough—are you strong enough even with my help—to set your foot upon the necks of Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes all at once? This is a practical and very serious question to you.

"The success of your army and the cause of the country are the same, and of course I only desire the good of the cause.

"Yours truly, A. LINCOLN."

General McClellan did not conclude to make the changes which he had pronounced so indispensable.

Again McClellan began to prepare for fighting the "decisive battle" which had constantly been looming before his eyes like a "will-o'-the-wisp," since the retreat of the Confederates from Manassas; but a disproportionate amount of his time was wasted in making out a case of neglect against the government. On the 10th of May, having then advanced only three miles beyond Williamsburg, he sent a long despatch to the War Department, reiterating his conviction that the rebels were about to dispute his advance with their whole force, and asking for "every man" the government could send him. Unless reinforced, he would probably be "obliged to fight nearly double his numbers strongly intrenched." Ten days previously the official returns showed that he had one hundred and sixty thousand men under his command. On the 14th, he again telegraphed the President his fears that he was confronted by overwhelming numbers, saying that he could not bring more than eighty thousand men into the field, and

again asking for "every man" that could be sent him. Even if not needed for military purposes, he thought a great display of imposing force in the capital of the rebel government would have the best moral effect. Alas! he was never destined to lead the armies of the Union into the rebel capital.

In reply, he was informed of the unwillingness of the President "to uncover the capital entirely," but that General McDowell had been ordered to co-operate with him, by marching upon Richmond by the shortest route; always, however, "keeping himself in position to save the capital from all possible attack;" and retaining the command of his own troops, and of the Department of the Rappahannock.

In reply to this, on the 21st of May General McClellan repeated his fears of the overwhelming force of the rebels; and urged that General McDowell should join him *by water* instead of by land, going down the Rappahannock and the bay to Fortress Monroe, and then ascending the York and Pamunkey rivers, although he feared there was "little hope that he could join him overland in time for the coming battle. Delays," he said, "on my part will be dangerous: I fear sickness and demoralization. This region is unhealthy for northern men, and unless kept moving, I fear that our soldiers may become discouraged." He urged that McDowell should be put more completely under his command, and declared that a movement by land would uncover Washington quite as completely as one by water. He, however, gave no instructions, as required, for supplying McDowell's forces on their arrival at West Point.

The jealous sensitiveness exhibited by McClellan

in this letter, was thus met by the following reply from President Lincoln:

"WASHINGTON, *May 24th*, 1862.

"I left General McDowell's camp at dark last evening. Shields's command is there, but it is so worn that he cannot move before Monday morning, the 26th. We have so thinned our line to get troops for other places that it was broken yesterday at Front Royal, with a probable loss to us of one regiment infantry, two companies cavalry, putting General Banks in some peril.

"The enemy's forces, under General Anderson, now opposing General McDowell's advance, have, as their line of supply and retreat, the road to Richmond.

"If, in conjunction with McDowell's movement against Anderson, you could send a force from your right to cut off the enemy's supplies from Richmond, preserve the railroad bridge across the two forks of the Pamunkey, and intercept the enemy's retreat, you will prevent the army now opposed to you from receiving an accession of numbers of nearly fifteen thousand men; and if you succeed in saving the bridges, you will secure a line of railroad for supplies in addition to the one you now have. Can you not do this almost as well as not, while you are building the Chickahominy bridges? McDowell and Shields both say they can, and positively will move Monday morning. I wish you to move cautiously and safely.

"*You will have command of McDowell, after he joins you, precisely as you indicated in your long despatch to us of the 21st.*

"A. LINCOLN, *President.*

"Major-General G. B. MCCLELLAN."

General Banks had been sent by General McClellan on the 1st of April, to guard the approaches to Washington by the valley of the Shenandoah, which were even then menaced by a considerable rebel force. A

conviction of the entire insufficiency of the forces left for the protection of the capital, led to the retention of McDowell, from whose command, however, upon General McClellan's urgent and impatient applications, general Franklin's division had been detached. Of this the President promptly informed the commanding general, at the same time clearly stating the emergency which had compelled this change of plan.

But McClellan, thinking only of himself, and apparently unable or unwilling to concede any thing to the necessities of brave comrades elsewhere in the field, remonstrated against the diversion of McDowell.

"WASHINGTON, *May 25th*, 1862.

"Your despatch received. General Banks was at Strasburg with about six thousand men, Shields having been taken from him to swell a column for McDowell to aid you at Richmond, and the rest of his force scattered at various places. On the 23d, a rebel force of seven to ten thousand fell upon one regiment and two companies guarding the bridge at Port Royal, destroying it entirely; crossed the Shenandoah, and on the 24th, yesterday, pushed on to get north of Banks on the road to Winchester. General Banks ran a race with them, beating them into Winchester yesterday evening. This morning a battle ensued between the two forces, in which General Banks was beaten back into full retreat toward Martinsburg, and probably is broken up into a total rout. Geary, on the Manassas Gap railroad, just now reports that Jackson is now near Front Royal with ten thousand troops, following up and supporting, as I understand, the force now pursuing Banks. Also, that another force of ten thousand is near Orleans, following on in the same direction. Stripped bare, as we are here, I will do all we can to prevent them crossing the Potomac at Harper's Ferry or above. McDowell has about twenty thou-

sand of his forces moving back to the vicinity of Front Royal; and Fremont, who was at Franklin, is moving to Harrisburg; both these movements intended to get in the enemy's rear.

"One more of McDowell's brigades is ordered through here to Harper's Ferry; the rest of his forces remain for the present at Fredericksburg. We are sending such regiments and dribs from here and Baltimore as we can spare to Harper's Ferry, supplying their places in some sort, calling in militia from the adjacent States. We also have eighteen cannon on the road to Harper's Ferry, of which arm there is not a single one at that point. This is now our situation.

"*If McDowell's force was now beyond our reach, we should be entirely helpless. Apprehensions of something like this, and no unwillingness to sustain you, has always been my reason for withholding McDowell's forces from you.*

"Please understand this, and do the best you can with the forces you have.

"A. LINCOLN.

"Major-General McCLELLAN."

Jackson made a triumphant march through the Shenandoah valley, and for a time it seemed as if nothing could prevent his crossing the Potomac, and appearing in the rear of Washington. The President promptly announced this state of things to General McClellan in the following despatch:

"WASHINGTON, *May 25th*, 1862—2 P. M.

"The enemy is moving north in sufficient force to drive General Banks before him; precisely in what force we cannot tell. He is also threatening Leesburg and Geary on the Manassas Gap railroad, from both north and south; in precisely what force we cannot tell. I think the movement is a general and concerted one. Such as would not be if he was acting upon the purpose of a very desperate defence of Richmond. I

think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job, and come to the defence of Washington Let me hear from you instantly.

"A. LINCOLN."

On the 20th of June, he notified the President that Jackson had been reinforced by probably not less than ten thousand troops sent from Richmond; that his own defences on the Chickahominy, made necessary by his "inferiority of numbers," would be completed the next day; and that he would like to know the "disposition, as to numbers and position, of the troops not under his command, in Virginia and elsewhere," requesting permission, also, to lay before the President, "by letter or telegraph, his views as to the present state of military affairs *throughout the whole country*." To this he received the following reply:

"WASHINGTON, *June 21st*, 1862—6 P. M.

"Your despatch of yesterday, 2 P. M., was received this morning. If it would not divert too much of your time and attention from the army under your immediate command, I would be glad to have your views as to the present state of military affairs throughout the whole country, as you say you would be glad to give them. I would rather it should be by letter than by telegraph, because of the better chance of secrecy. As to the numbers and positions of the troops not under your command, in Virginia and elsewhere, even if I could do it with accuracy, which I cannot, I would rather not transmit either by telegraph or letter, because of the chances of its reaching the enemy. I would be very glad to talk with you, but you cannot leave your camp, and I cannot well leave here.

"A. LINCOLN, *President*.

"Major-General GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN."

Circumstances occurring shortly after prevented Gen.

McClellan from favoring the President and the country at large, as he had proposed, with his opinion on "the situation;" theories being quite "pushed to the wall" by the stern realities of the new opening of the "Peninsula Campaign." For now nearly a month, he had been constantly reiterating his intention to make an immediate advance upon Richmond; and, frequently, days were especially fixed for the movement—yet, again and again, when the decisive moment arrived, it brought only a postponement. His army, at this time, occupied both banks of the Chickahominy—the left wing being strong and well compacted, while the right was comparatively weak and attenuated. The stream, however, had been so thoroughly bridged, that either wing could easily and speedily have been transferred across. Hitherto he had believed Jackson to be in force at Gordonsville, but on the 24th of June he learned from a deserter, that an attack on his right and rear had been planned for the 28th, which information was confirmed on the 25th by advice from the War Department. In view of this expected attack he wrote to the Department a letter, which seems to be an attempt of his timorous nature to throw upon others the responsibility of an anticipated defeat; declaring the rebel force to be about two hundred thousand, he regretted his own "great inferiority in numbers," protesting that he could not be held responsible for it, as he had repeatedly and constantly demanded reinforcements, and that, if the result of the action was a disaster, the "responsibility cannot be thrown on his shoulders, but must rest where it belongs." He closed by saying that he should probably be attacked on the following day, and that he felt "that there was no use in again

asking for reinforcements." To this the President thus replied:

"WASHINGTON, *June* 26, 1865.

"Your three despatches of yesterday in relation, ending with the statement that you completely succeeded in making your point, are very gratifying. The latter one, suggesting the probability of your being overwhelmed by two hundred thousand men, and talking of to whom the responsibility will belong, pains me very much. I give you all I can, and act on the presumption that you will do the best you can with what you have; while you continue, ungenerously I think, to assume that I could give you more if I would. I have omitted—I shall omit—no opportunity to send you reinforcements whenever I can.

"A. LINCOLN."

McClellan seems to have fully anticipated and made his arrangements for a defeat, having—according to his own report—as early as the 18th, ordered supplies to the James river, as a convenient place upon which to fall back in case of disaster. On the 26th, his extreme right was attacked at Mechanicsville, and, though the enemy were repulsed, their purpose of crushing that wing, and severing his communications, was fully revealed. Instead, however, of advancing his left wing across the river to strengthen the right, or of withdrawing his right across the strong defensive line of the river—he left the unfortunate right wing to continue the struggle the next day, without support, against the main body of the rebel army, and only withdrew it across the Chickahominy after the terrible defeat of Gaines' Mill. On the next day his troops commenced a retreat, and the general again showered reproaches upon the government for neglect of his army—alleging that ten thousand fresh

men would enable him to take Richmond (this from a retreating general!) but that, as it was, he could hope to cover his retreat. Claiming, as before, that he was not to be held "responsible for the result," he imperatively demanded very large reinforcements, and concluded this characteristic letter to the Secretary of War, with this remarkable sentence—"If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that *I owe no thanks to you or to any person in Washington: you have done your best to sacrifice this army.*"

The unparalleled impertinence of this communication instead of causing the prompt, and well-merited dismissal of the writer, only called from our most patient and generous-hearted President the following reply:

"WASHINGTON, *June* 28, 1862.

"Save your army at all events. Will send reinforcements as fast as we can. Of course, they cannot reach you to-day, to-morrow, or next day. I have not said you were ungenerous for saying you needed reinforcements; I thought you were ungenerous, in assuming that I did not send them as fast as I could. I feel any misfortune to you and your army quite as keenly as you feel it yourself. If you have had a drawn battle or a repulse, it is the price we pay for the enemy not being in Washington. We protected Washington and the enemy concentrated on you. Had we stripped Washington, he would have been upon us before the troops sent could have got to you. Less than a week ago you notified us that reinforcements were leaving Richmond to come in front of us. It is the nature of the case, and neither you nor the Government is to blame.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

Meanwhile the army continued its retreat towards the James river, making successive stops to resist pursuit,

at points previously designated by General McClellan, who with his staff proceeded in advance, but took no personal part in any of the terrible battles which his brave men were fighting day after day. At Savage Station, on the 29th, at Glendale on the 30th, and at Malvern Hill on the 1st of July, they stayed their retreating footsteps, faced the enemy like lions, routed them with terrific slaughter, and then pushed on with bitter thoughts to Harrison's Landing on the river, where under cover of the Union gunboats, they found at last a welcome respite from the roar and din of battle. Before the battle of Malvern Hill, a telegraphic request for fresh troops, brought from Washington the following brief despatch from the President:

"WASHINGTON, *July* 1, 1862—3.30 P. M.

"It is impossible to reinforce you for your present emergency. If we had a million of men we could not get them to you in time. We have not the men to send. If you are not strong enough to face the enemy, you must find a place of security, and wait, rest, and repair. Maintain your ground if you can, but save the army at all events, even if you fall back to Fortress Monroe. We still have strength enough in the country, and will bring it out.*

"A. LINCOLN.

"Major-General G. B. McCLELLAN."

Gen. McClellan estimated the entire number of his killed, wounded and missing during these seven days, at fifteen thousand two hundred and forty-nine.

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* On the 28th of June, the Governors of seventeen States sent an address to Mr. Lincoln, pledging the readiness of the people to respond to a call for more troops, and expressing the popular desire for prompt and vigorous measures to suppress the rebellion. In response to this, the President, on the 1st of July, (the same day on which he wrote to Gen. McClellan,) issued a call for three hundred thousand volunteers.

Again, on the following day, in reply to a request for fifty thousand more troops, the President thus writes:

"WASHINGTON, *July* 2, 1862.

"Your despatch of yesterday induces me to hope that your army is having some rest. In this hope, allow me to reason with you for a moment. When you ask for fifty thousand men to be promptly sent you, you surely labor under some gross mistake of fact. Recently you sent papers showing your disposal of forces made last spring for the defence of Washington, and advising a return to that plan. I find it included, in and about Washington, seventy-five thousand men. Now, please be assured that I have not men enough to fill that very plan by fifteen thousand. All of General Fremont's in the valley, all of General Banks', all of General McDowell's not with you, and all in Washington, taken together, do not exceed, if they reach, sixty thousand. With General Wool and General Dix added to those mentioned, I have not, outside of your army, seventy-five thousand men east of the mountains. Thus, the idea of sending you fifty thousand, or any other considerable forces promptly, is simply absurd. If, in your frequent mention of responsibility, you have the impression that I blame you for not doing more than you can, please be relieved of such impression. I only beg, that in like manner, you will not ask impossibilities of me. If you think you are not strong enough to take Richmond just now, I do not ask you to try just now. Save the army, material, and *personnel*, and I will strengthen it for the offensive again as fast as I can. The Governors of eighteen States offer me a new levy of three hundred thousand, which I accept.

A. LINCOLN."

On the next day, General McClellan again wrote for one hundred thousand men—"more rather than less," to enable him to "accomplish the great task of capturing Richmond, and putting an end to the rebellion;" expressing his hope that the enemy was as completely

worn out as his own army, though he feared an attack, from which, however, he trusted the bad condition of the roads might protect him. On the 4th, his call for "heavy reinforcements" was repeated, although he acknowledged that he held a very strong position, from which, with the aid of the gunboats, he could scarcely be driven. On the same day he received the following from the President:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., *July* 4, 1862.

"I understand your position as stated in your letter, and by General Marcy. To reinforce you so as to enable you to resume the offensive within a month, or even six weeks, is impossible. In addition to that arrived and now arriving from the Potomac (about ten thousand men, I suppose), and about ten thousand, I hope, you will have from Burnside very soon, and about five thousand from Hunter a little later, I do not see how I can send you another man within a month. Under these circumstances, the defensive, for the present, must be your only care. Save the army, first, where you are, if you *can;* and secondly, by removal, if you must. You, on the ground, must be the judge as to which you will attempt, and of the means for effecting it. I but give it as my opinion, that with the aid of the gunboats and the reinforcements mentioned above, you can hold your present position; provided, and so long as you can keep the James river open below you. If you are not tolerably confident you can keep the James river open, you had better remove as soon as possible. I do not remember that you have expressed any apprehension as to the danger of having your communication cut on the river below you, yet I do not suppose it can have escaped your attention. A. LINCOLN.

"P. S.—If at any time you feel able to take the offensive, you are not constrained from doing so. A. L."

At this juncture, the forces previously commanded by Generals Banks, Fremont and McDowell, were consolidated into the army of Virginia, the command of which was given to General Pope, whose hitherto successful career in the west, indicated him as fitted for this important position in the east. He at once entered vigorously upon the work of preparation for the triple task which devolved upon him, viz.: the defence of Washington, holding the Shenandoah valley, and creating a diversion in favor of the army at Harrison's Landing. On ascertaining the condition of the forces placed at his command, he was painfully conscious of the great disproportion of the means at his disposal to the ends that were to be accomplished, for his new command amounted to barely thirty-eight thousand effective men.

Under these circumstances, after having unsuccessfully appealed to the chief authorities at Washington to relieve him from a command from which so little was to be hoped, and in which his high military reputation was staked at fearful odds, he issued an energetic address to his army, and proceeded earnestly to the performance of the three-fold duties already indicated, drawing almost the entire army of Lee away from Richmond.

On the 7th of July, General McClellan sent to the President a letter of advice on the general conduct of his administration, in which he expressed the opinion that the time had come "when the government should determine upon a civil and military policy covering the whole ground of our national trouble," and he proceeded to lay down the basis of such a policy as ought to be adopted. "The war against the rebellion," he said, "should not be a war looking to the subjugation of the

people of any State in any event. Neither confiscation of property, political execution of persons, territorial organization of States, nor forcible abolition of slavery, should be contemplated for a moment." He added:

"Military power should not be allowed to interfere with the relations of servitude, either by supporting or impairing the authority of the master, except for repressing disorder, as in other cases. Slaves, contraband, under the act of Congress, seeking military protection, should receive it. The right of the government to appropriate permanently to its own service claims to slave labor, should be asserted, and the right of the owner to compensation therefor should be recognized. This principle might be extended, upon grounds of military necessity and security, to all the slaves of a particular State, thus working manumission in such State; and in Missouri, perhaps in Western Virginia also, and possibly even in Maryland, the expediency of such a measure is only a question of time * *

"Unless the principles governing the future conduct of our struggle shall be made known and approved, the effort to obtain the requisite forces will be almost hopeless. A declaration of radical views, especially upon slavery, will rapidly disintegrate our present armies."

He closed his letter by saying, "I may be on the brink of eternity; and as I hope for forgiveness from my Maker, I have written this letter with sincerity towards you, and from love for my country."

The President, instead of entering upon a discussion as to the general policy of his administration, simply urged the general's attention to the state of his own army; and with a view to inform himself more accurately as to its actual condition and prospects, visited the camp on the 8th of July, at Harrison's Landing.

On returning to Washington, the President thus wrote the general:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *July* 13, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR:—I am told that over one hundred and sixty thousand men have gone with your army on the Peninsula. When I was with you the other day, we made out eighty-six thousand remaining, leaving seventy-three thousand five hundred to be accounted for. I believe three thousand five hundred will cover all the killed, wounded and missing, in all your battles and skirmishes, leaving fifty thousand who have left otherwise. Not more than five thousand of these have died, leaving forty-five thousand of your army still alive, and not with it. I believe half or two-thirds of them are fit for duty to-day. Have you any more perfect knowledge of this than I have? If I am right, and you had these men with you, you could go into Richmond in the next three days. How can they be got to you, and how can they be prevented from getting away in such numbers in the future?

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The general's reply to this letter, disclosed the remarkable fact that thirty-eight thousand two hundred and fifty men of his army were absent on furloughs granted by his permission; and that the actual number of troops composing his army on the 20th of July, according to official returns, was one hundred and fifty-eight thousand, three hundred and fourteen, and its aggregate losses in the retreat to the James river fifteen thousand two hundred and forty-nine.

The future plan of army operations had been, during the President's visit to the camp, a subject of anxious deliberation and discussion. Washington, which was comparatively unprotected, was understood to be the point aimed at by the rebel leaders, and as McClellan

did not consider his army sufficiently strong for an offensive programme—the corps commanders decided strongly in favor of using the Army of the Potomac for the defence of the capital. McClellan, however, had not given up the idea of taking Richmond. On the 11th, he informed the President that his "army was in fine spirits, and that he hoped he would soon make him strong enough to try again;" again, he writes, that he was "more and more convinced that the army ought not to be withdrawn, but promptly reinforced and thrown *again* on Richmond," and earnestly deprecated any further retreat, as disasters to the *morale* of his troops, saying, "if we have a little more than half a chance we can take Richmond." These messages and demands still continuing, day after day, General Halleck, on the 25th, visited the camp in person, and having carefully inspected the troops, convened a council of officers, a majority of whom concurred in the opinion that the army ought to be withdrawn from the Peninsula. On the 30th, therefore, he ordered General McClellan to make ready for the prompt removal of his sick, in order to enable him to "move in any direction." Four days were lost by McClellan's delay to comply with this, and a similar order following—because he did not know what was intended to be done with his army. Finally, having been informed that his army was to be withdrawn from the Peninsula to Aquia Creek, he, instead of obeying, entered a long protest against the movement —affirming his present position to be the "true defence of Washington," and urging that the order might be countermanded.

To this the Secretary of War replied on the fourth,

again urging the dilatory commander to hasten the removal of the sick, which he was significantly reminded he had been "expected to have done without waiting to know what were or would be the intentions of the government respecting future movements;" and on the sixth he was again addressed, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, *August 6th*, 1862.

"GENERAL:—Your telegram of yesterday was received this morning, and I immediately telegraphed a brief reply, promising to write you more fully by mail.

"You, General, certainly could not have been more pained at receiving my order than I was at the necessity of issuing it. I was advised by high officers, in whose judgment I had great confidence, to make the order immediately on my arrival here, but I determined not to do so until I could learn your wishes from a personal interview. And even after that interview I tried every means in my power to avoid withdrawing your army, and delayed my decision as long as I dared to delay it.

"I assure you, General, it was not a hasty and inconsiderate act, but one that caused me more anxious thoughts than any other of my life. But after full and mature consideration of all the *pros* and *cons*, I was reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the order must be issued—there was to my mind no alternative.

"Allow me to allude to a few of the facts in the case.

"You and your officers at our interview estimated the enemy's forces in and around Richmond at two hundred thousand men. Since then, you and others report that they have received and are receiving large reinforcements from the South. General Pope's army, covering Washington, is only about forty thousand. Your effective force is only about ninety thousand. You are thirty miles from Richmond, and General Pope eighty or ninety, *with the enemy directly between you, ready to fall with*

his superior numbers upon one or the other as he may elect; neither can reinforce the other in case of such an attack.

"If General Pope's army be diminished to reinforce you, Washington, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, would be left uncovered and exposed. If your force be reduced to strengthen Pope, you would be too weak to even hold the position you now occupy should the enemy turn round and attack you in full force. In other words, the old Army of the Potomac is split into two parts, with the entire force of the enemy directly between them. They cannot be united by land without exposing both to destruction, and yet they must be united. To send Pope's forces by water to the Peninsula, is under present circumstances a military impossibility. The only alternative is to send the forces on the Peninsula to some point by water, say Fredericksburg, where the two armies can be united.

"Let me now allude to some of the objections which you have urged: you say that the withdrawal from the present position will cause the certain demoralization of the army, 'which is now in excellent discipline and condition.'

"I cannot understand why a simple change of position to a new and by no means distant base will demoralize an army in excellent discipline, unless the officers themselves assist in that demoralization, which I am satisfied they will not.

"Your change of front, from your extreme right at Hanover Court House to your present position, was over thirty miles, but I have not heard that it demoralized your troops, notwithstanding the severe losses they sustained in effecting it.

"A new base on the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg brings you within about sixty miles of Richmond, and secures a reinforcement of forty or fifty thousand fresh and disciplined troops.

"The change with such advantages will, I think, if properly represented to your army, encourage rather than demoralize your troops. Moreover, you yourself suggested that a junction might be effected at Yorktown, but that a flank march across

the isthmus would be more hazardous than to retire to Fort Monroe.

"You will remember that Yorktown is two or three miles further than Fredericksburg is. Besides, the latter is between Richmond and Washington, and covers Washington from any attack of the enemy.

"The political effect of the withdrawal may at first be unfavorable; but I think the public are beginning to understand its necessity, and that they will have much more confidence in a united army than in its separated fragments.

"But you will reply, why not reinforce me here, so that I can strike Richmond from my present position? To do this, you said, at our interview, that you required thirty thousand additional troops. I told you that it was impossible to give you so many. You finally thought you would have 'some chance' of success with twenty thousand. But you afterwards telegraphed me that you would require thirty-five thousand, as the enemy was being largely reinforced.

"If your estimate of the enemy's strength was correct, your requisition was perfectly reasonable; but it was utterly impossible to fill it until new troops could be enlisted and organized, which would require several weeks.

"To keep your army in its present position until it could be so reinforced would almost destroy it in that climate.

"The months of August and September are almost fatal to whites who live on that part of the James River; and even after you received the reinforcement asked for, you admitted that you must reduce Fort Darling and the river batteries before you could advance on Richmond.

"It is by no means certain that the reduction of these fortifications would not require considerable time—perhaps as much as those at Yorktown.

"This delay might not only be fatal to the health of your army, but in the mean time General Pope's forces would be

exposed to the heavy blows of the enemy without the slightest hope of assistance from you.

"In regard to the demoralizing effect of a withdrawal from the Peninsula to the Rappahannock, I must remark that a large number of your highest officers, indeed a majority of those whose opinions have been reported to me, are decidedly in favor of the movement. Even several of those who originally advocated the line of the Peninsula now advise its abandonment.

"I have not inquired, and do not wish to know, by whose advice or for what reasons the army of the Potomac was separated into two parts, with the enemy between them. I must take things as I find them.

"I find the forces divided, and I wish to unite them. Only one feasible plan has been presented for doing this. If you, or any one else, had presented a better plan, I certainly should have adopted it. But all of your plans require reinforcements which it is impossible to give you. It is very easy to *ask* for reinforcements, but it is not so easy to give them when you have no disposable troops at your command.

"I have written very plainly as I understand the case, and I hope you will give me credit for having fully considered the matter, although I may have arrived at very different conclusions from your own.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"W. H. HALLECK, *General-in-Chief.*

"Major-General G. B. MCCLELLAN, *Commanding, etc.,*
Berkeley, Virginia."

And this, then, was the practical result of the Peninsula campaign; three months of "masterly inactivity," in the field, added to the eight months of preparation before Washington. And this was not because he lacked the proper support from government; for, although his plan of an attack on Richmond by the

lower Chesapeake was entirely at variance with the better judgment of the President and others, yet McClellan was furnished with all needed means, and every available man, consistently with *his own* opinions as to the necessary security of Washington, and with the conditions expressly exacted by himself in undertaking the work. Nor was it owing to any unfortunate combination of events, or to any lack of courage or nerve on the part of his soldiers, for these were the men who, even amid the discouragements of a retreat, wrested the victories of Fair Oaks, Savage Station, and Malvern Hill from a flushed and pursuing enemy; and who, at a later day, under another leader, captured Richmond, and ended the rebellion. The Army of the Potomac, most sorely tried of all our armies, needed then only *proper handling* by its commander to have insured it the success and the glory which has since crowned its patriotism, its patience, its heroism.

"The military record of the campaign," says another writer, "has a singular sameness. When occasionally his roads are good, he cannot move without reinforcements. When his reinforcements come, he has to wait for better roads. Thus time passes—the month of April, before an army originally one-eighth as large as his own; much of May and June by the sickly Chickahominy, his men not unfit for duty engaged in throwing up intrenchments, to be abandoned on the first attack. Day after day he is only waiting for something just on the point of being gained, when his final advance and assaul are to commence. But perfect readiness never comes; and at last, the enemy, concentrating all his strength, himself attacks, and puts upon its defence, an army that was confidently led forth for aggressive war.

"A month wasted at Yorktown, without plausible palliation;

tardy pursuit, after the unintended battle, resulting in victory, at Williamsburg; unaccountable hesitation and slackness on the Chickahominy; utter neglect to use the known absence of Jackson, or to anticipate the arrival of Beauregard after the evacuation of Corinth; insured an otherwise impossible discomfiture. Never did the result of a campaign more bitterly disappoint public hope. The worst that Mr. Lincoln had foreseen from the adoption of the Peninsular plan had happened, and even a loss of the entire army was now dreaded. Every advantage supposed by General McClellan to be attainable by this route to Richmond had been thrown away. The cause had suffered a vastly greater blow than at Bull Run. The nation was more depressed; the Administration more painfully embarrassed, than by any previous calamity. The worst effects upon the cause, abroad and at home, were to be apprehended from this unfortunate issue of a grand military plan."

The order for the removal of the sick had been given to General McClellan on the 2d of August; on the 7th he reported that three thousand seven hundred and forty had been sent, and five thousand seven hundred still remained. On the 9th, General Halleck telegraphed McClellan that the enemy was massing his forces in front of General Pope and Burnside to crush them and move upon Washington, and that reinforcements must at once be sent to Aquia Creek: "Considering the amount of transportation at your disposal, your delay is not satisfactory. *You must move with all celerity.*" To this he replied that he would move "as soon as the sick were disposed of."

Again, on the 10th, General Halleck informed him that "the enemy is crossing the Rapidan in large force. They are fighting General Pope to-day. *There must be*

no further delay in your movements: that which has already occurred was entirely unexpected, and must be satisfactorily explained. Let not a moment's time be lost, and telegraph me daily what progress you have made in executing the order to transfer your troops."

On the 21st, he was told "the forces of Burnside and Pope are hard pushed, and require aid as rapidly as you can. By all means see that the troops sent have plenty of ammunition. We have no time to supply them; moreover, they may have to fight as soon as they land."

On the 27th of August, General McClellan was ordered by General Halleck to "*to take entire direction of the sending out of the troops from Alexandria*" to reinforce Pope, whom the enemy were pressing with a powerful army, and whose headquarters were now at Warrenton Junction. A portion of the Army of the Potomac, which, fortunately, had arrived before General McClellan, went forward at once to Pope's aid, but, of those which arrived after him, or which were in Alexandria at the time, not one reached the field or took any part in the battle by which the army was saved from destruction and the capital from capture.

For the next two days the general's time seems to have been pretty well occupied in sending to the Secretary of War, telegraphic despatches, in which it is certainly not easy to discover any very earnest desire to reinforce his own much-praised Army of the Potomac, then fighting a battle in his front and within his hearing, but under another commander; no evidence beyond his own declaration, that from the moment of his arrival at Alexandria he "left nothing in his power undone

to forward supplies and reinforcements to General Pope." On the contrary, they seem to show that he had decided to do, what in a telegram of the same date he had suggested to the President, "*leave Pope to get out of his scrape*," and devote himself exclusively to the safety of Washington.* He seems to think any disposition of Franklin's and Sumner's troops wise, except sending them forward to reinforce Pope. He was anxious to send them *anywhere and everywhere except where they were wanted most*, and where alone they could assist in getting Pope "out of his scrape," and in aiding the Army of the Potomac. That army, finally, after having contested every inch of ground with a gallantry and tenacity which would have insured it glorious success, if it had been properly supported—was defeated, and driven back upon Washington. Unbroken in spirit and organization, it fell back upon the capital fully prepared to renew the struggle for its safety.

The progress of the rebel army up the Potomac, with the evident purpose of attacking Baltimore, or invading

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* On the 29th he had telegraphed to the President as follows:

"I am clear that one of two courses should be adopted: First, to concentrate all our available forces to open communications with Pope; second, to *leave Pope to get out of his scrape, and at once use all our means to make the capital perfectly safe*. No middle ground will now answer. Tell me what you wish me to do, and I will do all in my power to accomplish it."

To this the President had thus replied:

"WASHINGTON, *August* 29, 1862—4.10 P. M.

"Yours of to-day just received. I think your first alternative, to wit, 'to concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope,' is the right one, but I wish not to control. That I now leave to General Halleck, aided by your counsels.

"A. LINCOLN

"Major-General MCCLELLAN."

Pennsylvania, had created a general feeling of uneasiness throughout the country, and at Washington especially. This state of the public mind was adroitly used by the political party of which McClellan had recently become the recognized head, as well as by strong military clique in the army, to operate unfavorably against General Pope —in consequence of which that officer was relieved, and General McClellan again took command of the Army of the Potomac. On the 4th he commenced to move his army into Maryland to repel the rebel invasion; on the 11th he again writes for more reinforcements—even if sending them should involve the withdrawal of troops from Harper's Ferry, or from the front of Washington. This, however, was refused. On the 14th occurred the battle of South Mountain, the rebels falling back to the Potomac; on the 17th the battle of Antietam was fought —the completion of the victory of the Union arms being sadly marred by McClellan's neglect to push a vigorous pursuit of the shattered and demoralized foe—although he had at least one entirely fresh corps to use. On the 19th, when orders were issued for a renewal of the conflict, it was suddenly discovered that the enemy were safely on the other side of the Potomac, and the "condition of his army" was his excuse for not crossing in pursuit.

On the 23d, and again on the 27th, he wrote to Washington for reinforcements to enable him to maintain his position where he then was, *and to attack the enemy should he attempt to recross into Maryland!*

On the 1st of October, President Lincoln visited the army and made careful inquiry into its strength and condition. It is not too much to say that this visit was

made, in part, from the extreme anxiety felt by Mr. Lincoln on account of the protracted delay in moving the army, and from a desire to ascertain, by personal observation, how far this inaction was necessary or reasonable. On the President's return, the following despatch was sent by General Halleck to General McClellan:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *October* 6, 1862.

"I am instructed to telegraph to you as follows: The President directs that you cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy, or drive him south. Your army must move now, while the roads are good. If you cross the river between the enemy and Washington, and cover the latter by your operation, you can be reinforced with thirty thousand men. If you move up the valley of the Shenandoah not more than twelve or fifteen thousand can be sent you. The President advises the interior line between Washington and the enemy, but does not order it. He is very desirous for your army to move as soon as possible. You will immediately report what line you adopt, and when you intend to cross the river: also to what point the reinforcements are to be sent. It is necessary that the plan of your operations be positively determined on, before orders are given for building bridges and repairing railroads. I am directed to add, that the Secretary of War and the General-in-Chief fully concur with the President in these instructions.

"H. W. HALLECK, *General-in-Chief.*

"Major-General McCLELLAN."

General McClellan now called for very large quantities of shoes, clothing, and other supplies, without which, he said, the army could not move. On the 11th, the rebel General Stuart, with a force of some twenty-five hundred men, made a raid into Pennsylvania, circling completely round our army, and thwarting all the arrangements by which General McClellan had reported that his capture

was certain. On the 13th, the President, whose patience was well-nigh exhausted by these protracted delays, addressed General McClellan the following letter:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *Oct.* 13*th*, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR:—You remember my speaking to you of what I called your over-cautiousness. Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess, and act upon the claim?

"As I understand, you telegraphed General Halleck that you cannot subsist your army at Winchester unless the railroad from Harper's Ferry to that point be put in working order. But the enemy does now subsist his army at Winchester, at a distance nearly twice as great from railroad transportation as you would have to do without the railroad last named. He now wagons from Culpepper Court House, which is just about twice as far as you would have to do from Harper's Ferry. He is certainly not more than half as well provided with wagons as you are. I certainly should be pleased for you to have the advantage of the railroad from Harper's Ferry to Winchester; but it wastes all the remainder of autumn to give it to you, and, in fact, ignores the question of *time*, which cannot and must not be ignored.

"Again, one of the standard maxims of war, as you know, is, 'to operate upon the enemy's communications as much as possible without exposing your own.' You seem to act as if this applies *against* you, but cannot apply in your *favor*. Change positions with the enemy, and think you not he would break your communication with Richmond within the next twenty-four hours? You dread his going into Pennsylvania. But if he does so in full force, he gives up his communications to you absolutely, and you have nothing to do but to follow and ruin him. If he does so with less than full force, fall upon and beat what is left behind all the easier.

"Exclusive of the water line, you are now nearer Richmond

than the enemy is by the route that you *can* and he *must* take. Why can you not reach there before him, unless you admit that he is more than your equal on a march? His route is the arc of a circle, while yours is the chord. The roads are as good on yours as on his.

"You know I desired, but did not order you to cross the Potomac below, instead of above the Shenandoah and Blue Ridge. My idea was, that this would at once menace the enemy's communications, which I would seize if he would permit. If he should move northward, I would follow him closely, holding his communications. If he should prevent our seizing his communications, and moves toward Richmond, I would press closely to him, fight him if a favorable opportunity should present, and at least try to beat him to Richmond on the inside track. I say 'try;' if we never try we shall never succeed. If he make a stand at Winchester, moving neither north nor south, I would fight him there, on the idea that if we cannot beat him when he bears the wastage of coming to us, we never can when we bear the wastage of going to him. This proposition is a simple truth, and is too important to be lost sight of for a moment. In coming to us, he tenders us an advantage which we should not waive. We should not so operate as to merely drive him away. As we must beat him somewhere, or fail finally, we can do it, if at all, easier near to us than far away. If we cannot beat the enemy where he now is, we never can, he again being within the intrenchments of Richmond. Recurring to the idea of going to Richmond on the inside track, the facility of supplying from the side away from the enemy is remarkable—as it were by the different spokes of a wheel, extending from the hub toward the rim, and this whether you move directly by the chord, or on the inside arc hugging the Blue Ridge more closely. The chord-line, as you see, carries you by Aldie, Haymarket, and Fredericksburg, and you see how turnpikes, railroads, and, finally, the Potomac by Aquia Creek, meet you at all points from Washington.

The same, only the lines lengthened a little, if you press closer to the Blue Ridge part of the way. The gaps through the Blue Ridge I understand to be about the following distances from Harper's Ferry, to wit—Vestal's, five miles; Gregory's, thirteen; Snicker's, eighteen; Ashby's, twenty-eight; Manassas, thirty-eight; Chester, forty-five; and Thornton's, fifty-three. I should think it preferable to take the route nearest the enemy disabling him to make an important move without your knowledge, and compelling him to keep his forces together for dread of you. The gaps would enable you to attack if you should wish. For a great part of the way you would be practically between the enemy and both Washington and Richmond, enabling us to spare you the greatest number of troops from here. When, at length, running to Richmond ahead of him enables him to move this way, if he does so, turn and attack him in the rear. But I think he should be engaged long before such point is reached. It is all easy if our troops march as well as the enemy, and it is unmanly to say they cannot do it. This letter is in no sense an order.

"Yours, truly, A. LINCOLN.

"Major-General McCLELLAN."

For another fortnight General McClellan delayed to move his army in obedience to the President's order, and sent forward only complaints of inadequate supplies, and incessant demands for reinforcements. On the twenty-first, inquiring whether it was still the President's wish that he should march upon the enemy at once or await the arrival of fresh horses, he was told that the order of the sixth was unchanged, and that the President, while not expecting impossibilities, was "very anxious that all this good weather should not be wasted in inactivity." General McClellan then fixed upon the first of November as the earliest date for the forward

movement. On the twenty-fifth he complained to the Department of the condition of his cavalry, saying that the horses were fatigued and greatly troubled with sore tongue; which provoked from the President the following inquiry:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *Oct. 25th*, 1862

"I have just read your despatch about sore-tongue and fatigued horses. Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues any thing?

"A. LINCOLN."

The general replied, that they had been engaged in making reconnoissances, scouting, and picketing. To which the President thus rejoined:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *Oct. 26th*, 1862.

"Yours in reply to mine about horses received. Of course you know the facts better than I. Still, two considerations remain: Stuart's cavalry outmarched ours, having certainly done more marked service on the Peninsula and everywhere since. Secondly: will not a movement of our army be a relief to the cavalry, compelling the enemy to concentrate instead of 'foraging' in squads everywhere? But I am so rejoiced to learn from your despatch to General Halleck, that you began crossing the river this morning.

"A. LINCOLN."

The general replied in a long despatch, rehearsing in detail the labors performed by his cavalry, to which he thought the President had done injustice. This note elicited the following reply:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *Oct. 26th*, 1862.

"Yours of yesterday received. Most certainly I intend no injustice to any, and if I have done any I deeply regret it. To be told, after more than five weeks total inaction of the army

and during which period we had sent to that army every fresh horse we possibly could, amounting in the whole to seven thousand nine hundred and eighteen, that the cavalry horses were too fatigued to move, presented a very cheerless, almost hopeless prospect for the future, and it may have forced something of impatience into my despatches. If not recruited and rested then, when could they ever be? I suppose the river is rising, and I am glad to believe you are crossing.

"A. LINCOLN."

The next topic of discussion which the general took up, was the extent to which the line of the Potomac should be guarded, after he left it, so as to cover Maryland and Pennsylvania from further invasions; and his rather irrelevant suggestions concerning the position of the rebel army under Bragg, led General Halleck, in reply, to remind him that *Bragg was four hundred miles away, while Lee was but twenty!* On the twenty-seventh he telegraphed to the President that it would be necessary to "fill up the old regiments of his command before taking them again into action," to which the President replied:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *Oct. 27th*, 1862.

"Your despatch of three P. M. to-day, in regard to filling up old regiments with drafted men, is received, and the request therein shall be complied with as far as practicable. And now I ask a distinct answer to the question, 'Is it your purpose not to go into *action* again till the men now being drafted in the States are incorporated in the old regiments?'

"A. LINCOLN."

The general replied to this that the language of the despatch—which had been prepared by one of his aids—had incorrectly expressed his meaning, and that he did not propose to delay his advance until his regiments

were replenished by drafted men. Finally, on the 5th of November, *just a month after the order had been issued*, the general announced to the President that the army was all on the Virginia side of the river—the enemy, meanwhile, having possessed himself of all the strong points, and fallen back, at perfect leisure, towards his base of operations. This disgraceful and inexcusable delay fairly exhausted the patience of an over-patient government, and the date of McClellan's announcement of the accomplishment of his great feat, was also the date of an order relieving him from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and directing General Burnside to take his place.*

The record of the Army of the Potomac, while under the command of General McClellan, forms a most remarkable chapter in the history of the war. An army of one hundred and sixty thousand men, brave, enthusiastic and

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* In a subsequent private conversation with Mr. Albert D. Richardson, the President thus alluded to General McClellan:

"I do not, as some do, regard McClellan either as a traitor or an officer without capacity. He sometimes has bad counsellors, but he is loyal, and he has some fine military qualities. I adhered to him after nearly all my constitutional advisers lost faith in him. But do you want to know when I gave him up? It was after the battle of Antietam. The Blue Ridge was then between our army and Lee's. We enjoyed the great advantage over them, which they usually had over us: we had the short line, and they had the long one, to the rebel capital. I directed McClellan peremptorily to move on Richmond, at once. *It was eleven days before he crossed his first man over the Potomac; it was eleven days after that before he crossed the last man. Thus, he was twenty-two days in passing the river at a much easier and more practicable ford than that where Lee crossed his entire army between dark one night and daylight the next morning.* That was the last grain of sand which broke the camel's back. I relieved McClellan at once. As for Hooker: I have told *him* forty times that I fear he may err just as much one way as McClellan does the other—may be as over-daring as McClellan is [illegible]

patriotic, thoroughly organized and provided, even to profusion, with every thing essential to its comfort and efficiency—during a period of fifteen months—had constantly faced and fought an enemy, without accomplishing a single important result. Always restrained by the over-cautiousness of its commander from attacking the enemy—Antietam excepted, where, indeed, it was impossible to avoid an engagement—it had fought every battle on the defensive, and even its successes were turned into defeats by the strange neglect of that commander to follow up the advantages gained; thus giving to the enemy ample time to recuperate and prepare for more vigorous resistance. As we have already seen, this style of warfare was not such as commended itself to the clear-sighted and practical, though cautious, mind of Mr. Lincoln; who, while constantly urging more prompt and decisive action upon the general, always gave to him, to the fullest extent of his power, all the aid which was at the disposal of the government. More than that, also, with the generosity so peculiar to himself, the President, while personally annoyed by these continual delays and frequent disasters, and implicated, in a measure, in the odium which was cast upon his subordinate—never hesitated to protect him from the rapidly rising tide of public discontent and censure, even when it obliged him to "shoulder the responsibility." Of this a remarkable instance is afforded by the following speech made by him, at a meeting held in Washington, August 6th, after the retreat of the army to the James river, but before its withdrawal from the Peninsula.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS:—I believe there is no precedent for my

appearing before you on this occasion, but it is also true that there is no precedent for your being here yourselves, and I offer, in justification of myself and of you, that, upon examination, I have found nothing in the Constitution against it. I, however, have an impression that there are younger gentlemen who will entertain you better, and better address your understanding than I will or could, and therefore I propose not to detain you a moment longer.

"I am very little inclined on any occasion to say any thing unless I hope to produce some good by it. The only thing I think of just now not likely to be better said by some one else is a matter in which we have heard some other persons blamed for what I did myself. There has been a very wide-spread attempt to have a quarrel between General McClellan and the Secretary of War. Now, I occupy a position that enables me to observe, that these two gentlemen are not nearly so deep in the quarrel as some pretending to be their friends. General McClellan's attitude is such that, in the very selfishness of his nature, he cannot but wish to be successful, and I hope he will—and the Secretary of War is in precisely the same situation. If the military commanders in the field cannot be successful, not only the Secretary of War, but myself, for the time being the master of them both, cannot but be failures. I know General McClellan wishes to be successful, and I know he does not wish it any more than the Secretary of War for him, and both of them together no more than I wish it. Sometimes we have a dispute about how many men General McClellan has had, and those who would disparage him say that he has had a very large number, and those who would disparage the Secretary of War insist that General McClellan has had a very small number. The basis for this is, there is always a wide difference, and on this occasion, perhaps a wider one than usual, between the grand total on McClellan's rolls and the men actually fit for duty; and those who would disparage him talk of the grand total on paper, and those who would disparage the Secretary of

War talk of those at present fit for duty. General McClellan has sometimes asked for things that the Secretary of War did not give him. General McClellan is not to blame for asking what he wanted and needed, and the Secretary of War is not to blame for not giving when he had none to give. And I say here, as far as I know, the Secretary of War has withheld no one thing at any time in my power to give him. I have no accusation against him. I believe he is a brave and able man, and I stand here, as justice requires me to do, to take upon myself what has been charged on the Secretary of War, as withholding from him.

"I have talked longer than I expected to do, and now I avail myself of my privilege of saying no more."

During this time Mr. Lincoln worked night and day in his office, and the routine of his daily life was thus well described by one who knew:

"Mr. Lincoln is an early riser, and he thus is able to devote two or three hours each morning to his voluminous private correspondence, besides glancing at a city paper. At nine he breakfasts—then walks over to the War Office, to read such war telegrams as they give him (occasionally some are withheld), and to have a chat with General Halleck on the military situation, in which he takes a great interest. Returning to the White House, he goes through with his morning's mail, in company with a private secretary, who makes a minute of the reply which he is to make—and others the President retains, that he may answer them himself. Every letter receives attention, and all which are entitled to a reply receive one, no matter how they are worded, or how inelegant the chirography may be.

"Tuesdays and Fridays are Cabinet days, but on other days visitors at the White House are requested to wait in the antechamber, and send in their cards. Sometimes, before the President has finished reading his mail, Louis will have a handful of pasteboard, and from the cards laid before him Mr. Lincoln

has visitors ushered in, giving precedence to acquaintances. Three or four hours do they pour in, in rapid succession, nine out of ten asking offices, and patiently does the President listen to their application. Care and anxiety have furrowed his rather homely features, yet occasionally he is 'reminded of an anecdote,' and good-humored glances beam from his clear grey eyes, while his ringing laugh shows that he is not 'used up' yet. The simple and natural manner in which he delivers his thoughts makes him appear to those visiting him like an earnest, affectionate friend. He makes little parade of his legal science, and rarely indulges in speculative propositions, but states his ideas in plain Anglo-Saxon, illuminated by many lively images and pleasing allusions, which seem to flow as if in obedience to a restless impulse of nature. Some newspaper admirer attempts to deny that the President tells stories. Why, it is rarely that any one is in his company for five minutes without hearing a good tale, appropriate to the subject talked about. Many a metaphysical argument does he demolish by simply telling an anecdote, which exactly overturns the verbal structure.

"About four o'clock the President declines seeing any more company, and often accompanies his wife in her carriage to take a drive. He is fond of horseback exercise, and when passing the summers home, used generally to go in the saddle. The President dines at six, and it is rare that some personal friends do not grace the round dining-table where he throws off the cares of office, and reminds those who have been in Kentucky of the old school gentleman who used to dispense generous hospitality there. From the dinner table the party retire to the crimson drawing-room, where coffee is served, and where the President passes the evening, unless some dignitary has a special interview. Such is the almost unvarying life of Abraham Lincoln, whose administration will rank next in importance to that of Washington in our national annals."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1863.

Second Session of the Thirty-seventh Congress.—The Annual Message.—Work done by Congress.—The President's Message on the Financial Bill.—His policy indorsed by the popular elections in some of the New England States.—A Letter from the Workingmen of Manchester (England), and the President's reply.—His letter to the State Convention at Springfield, Ill.—Proclamation of Pardon and Amnesty.—Annual Message of December, 1863.—*The Military Events of* 1863.—The situation at the opening of the year.—Successes in the West.—In the East, General Burnside is relieved by General Hooker, who fights Lee at Chancellorsville.—The Battle of Gettysburg, Pa.—The President's Despatch.—His Speech at the Consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg.—Great Rejoicings.—Mr. Lincoln's Speech at Washington.—His Letter to General Grant.—His Proclamation of Thanksgiving, Prayer, and Praise.—Military successes in Tennessee.—Proclamations.—*Sketch of Events arising from Arbitrary Arrests and the Suppression of the Writ of Habeas Corpus.*—Its Suspension in May, 1861.—The Attorney-General furnishes an opinion on it.—Arrest of the Maryland Legislature.—Executive Orders in relation to State prisoners.—Proclamation of September, 1862.—Factious opposition of Hon. C. L. Vallandigham.—He is arrested, tried, and sent into Rebeldom, by order of the President.—Great excitement following.—Mr. Lincoln's Letter to Hon. Erastus Corning and others.—Mr. Lincoln's reply to the Committee of the Democratic State Convention.—Proclamation of September, 1863.—The Draft is commenced.—Riots in New York city.—*The Missouri Imbroglio.*—Commences in 1861.—The President at last "takes hold of it," in 1863.—Letter to General Schofield.—His reply to a German Fremont Committee.—His reply to a Committee from the Mass Convention of September, 1863.—Instructions to General Schofield.—*Foreign Affairs.*—French proposition for a mediation in American Affairs.—It is declined by the United States.—The President's reply.—The Correspondence between Hon. Fernando Wood and Mr. Lincoln on the subject of a Conference with Rebel authorities.

THE Thirty-seventh Congress convened, for its second and last session, on the first of December, 1862, and on the same day both Houses received from the President the customary annual message. In view of the marked events of the preceding session, and of the momentous circumstances which surrounded the nation, this document was eagerly looked for, and its reception was, in a proportionate degree, favorable. The material portions of this paper are as follows:

ANNUAL MESSAGE, 1862.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:—Since your last annual assembling, another year of health and bountiful harvests has passed. And, while it has not pleased the Almighty to bless us with a return of peace, we can but press on, guided by the best light He gives us, trusting that, in His own good time, and wise way, all will yet be well.

"If the condition of our relations with other nations is less gratifying than it has usually been at former periods, it is certainly more satisfactory than a nation so unhappily distracted as we are, might reasonably have apprehended. In the month of June last there were some grounds to expect that the maritime powers which, at the beginning of our domestic difficulties, so unwisely and unnecessarily, as we think, recognized the insurgents as a belligerent, would soon recede from that position, which has proved only less injurious to themselves than to our own country. But the temporary reverses which afterward befell the national arms, and which were exaggerated by our own disloyal citizens abroad, have hitherto delayed that act of simple justice.

"The civil war, which has so radically changed, for the moment, the occupations and habits of the American people,

has necessarily disturbed the social condition, and affected very deeply the prosperity of the nations with which we have carried on a commerce that has been steadily increasing throughout a period of half a century. It has, at the same time, excited political ambitions and apprehensions which have produced a profound agitation throughout the civilized world. In this unusual agitation we have forborne from taking part in any controversy between foreign States, and between parties or factions in such States. We have attempted no propagandism, and acknowledged no revolution. But we have left to every nation the exclusive conduct and management of its own affairs. Our struggle has been, of course, contemplated by foreign nations with reference less to its own merits, than to its supposed, and often exaggerated, effects and consequences resulting to those nations themselves. Nevertheless, complaint on the part of this government, even if it were just, would certainly be unwise.

"The treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave trade has been put into operation, with a good prospect of complete success. It is an occasion of special pleasure to acknowledge that the execution of it, on the part of Her Majesty's government, has been marked with a jealous respect for the authority of the United States, and the rights of their moral and loyal citizens. . . . .

"Applications have been made to me by many free Americans of African descent to favor their emigration, with a view to such colonization as was contemplated in recent acts of Congress. Other parties, at home and abroad—some from interested motives, others upon patriotic considerations, and still others influenced by philanthropic sentiments—have suggested similar measures; while, on the other hand, several of the Spanish-American republics have protested against the sending of such colonies to their respective territories. Under these circumstances, I have declined to move any such colony to any State, without first obtaining the consent of its government,

with an agreement on its part to receive and protect such emigrants in all the rights of freemen; and I have, at the same time, offered to the several States situated within the tropics, or having colonies there, to negotiate with them, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, to favor the voluntary emigration of persons of that class to their respective territories, upon conditions which shall be equal, just and humane. Liberia and Hayti are, as yet, the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here, could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens; and I regret to say such persons, contemplating colonization, do not seem so willing to migrate to those countries, as to some others, nor so willing as I think their interest demands. I believe, however, opinion among them in this respect is improving; and that, ere long, there will be an augmented and considerable migration to both these countries, from the United States. . . . . .

"I have favored the project for connecting the United States with Europe by an Atlantic telegraph, and a similar project to extend the telegraph from San Francisco, to connect by a Pacific telegraph with the line which is being extended across the Russian Empire.

"The Territories of the United States, with unimportant exceptions, have remained undisturbed by the civil war; and they are exhibiting such evidence of prosperity as justifies an expectation that some of them will soon be in a condition to be organized as States, and be constitutionally admitted into the Federal Union.

"The immense mineral resources of some of those Territories ought to be developed as rapidly as possible. Every step in that direction would have a tendency to improve the revenues of the government, and diminish the burdens of the people. It is worthy of your serious consideration whether some extraordinary measures to promote that end cannot be adopted. The means which suggests itself as most likely to be effective, is a scientific exploration of the mineral regions in those Terri-

tories, with a view to the publication of its results at home and in foreign countries—results which cannot fail to be auspicious.

"The condition of the finances will claim your most diligent consideration. The vast expenditures incident to the military and naval operations required for the suppression of the rebellion, have hitherto been met with a promptitude and certainty unusual in similar circumstances; and the public credit has been fully maintained. The continuance of the war, however, and the increased disbursements made necessary by the augmented forces now in the field, demand your best reflections as to the best mode of providing the necessary revenue, without injury to business, and with the least possible burdens upon labor.

"The suspension of specie payments by the banks, soon after the commencement of your last session, made large issues of United States notes unavoidable. In no other way could the payment of the troops, and the satisfaction of other just demands, be so economically, or so well provided for. The judicious legislation of Congress, securing the receivability of these notes for loans and internal duties, and making them a legal tender for other debts, has made them an universal currency; and has satisfied, partially, at least, and for the time, the long felt want of an uniform circulating medium, saving thereby to the people immense sums in discounts and exchanges.

"A return to specie payments, however, at the earliest period compatible with due regard to all interests concerned, should ever be kept in view. Fluctuations in the value of currency are always injurious, and to reduce these fluctuations to the lowest possible point will always be a leading purpose in wise legislation. Convertibility, prompt and certain convertibility into coin, is generally acknowledged to be the best and the surest safeguard against them; and it is extremely doubtful whether a circulation of United States notes, payable in coin,

and sufficiently large for the wants of the people, can be permanently, usefully and safely maintained.

"Is there, then, any other mode in which the necessary provision for the public wants can be made, and the great advantages of a safe and uniform currency secured?

"I know of none which promises so certain results, and is, at the same time, so unobjectionable, as the organization of banking associations, under a general act of Congress, well guarded in its provisions. To such associations the government might furnish circulating notes, on the security of the United States bonds deposited in the treasury. These notes, prepared under the supervision of proper officers, being uniform in appearance and security, and convertible always into coin, would at once protect labor against the evils of a vicious currency, and facilitate commerce by cheap and safe exchanges.

"A moderate reservation from the interest on the bonds would compensate the United States for the preparation and distribution of the notes and a general supervision of the system, and would lighten the burdens of that part of the public debt employed as securities. The public credit, moreover, would be greatly improved, and the negotiation of new loans greatly facilitated by the steady market demand for government bonds which the adoption of the proposed system would create.

"It is an additional recommendation of the measure, of considerable weight, in my judgment, that it would reconcile, as far as possible, all existing interests, by the opportunity offered to existing institutions to reorganize under the act, substituting only the secured uniform national circulation for the local and various circulation, secured and unsecured, now issued by them.

"On the 22d day of September last a proclamation was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith submitted.

"In accordance with the purpose expressed in the second

paragraph of that paper, I now respectfully recall your attention to what may be called 'compensated emancipation.'

"A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability. 'One generation passeth away and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth forever.' It is of the first importance to duly consider, and estimate, this ever-enduring part. That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States, is well adapted to be the home of one national family; and it is not well adapted for two, or more. Its vast extent, and its variety of climate and productions, are of advantage, in this age, for one people, whatever they might have been in former ages. Steam, telegraphs and intelligence have brought these to be an advantageous combination for one united people.

"In the inaugural address I briefly pointed out the total inadequacy of disunion, as a remedy for the differences between the people of the two sections. I did so in language which I cannot improve, and which, therefore, I beg to repeat:

"'One section of our country believes slavery is *right*, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong*, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases *after* the separation of the sections, than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

"'Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot re-

move our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory, *after* separation than *before?* Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

"There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary, upon which to divide. Trace through, from east to west, upon the line between the free and slave country, and we shall find a little more than one third of its length are rivers, easy to be crossed, and populated, or soon to be populated, thickly, upon both sides; while nearly all its remaining length are merely surveyor's lines, over which people may walk back and forth without any consciousness of their presence. No part of this line can be made any more difficult to pass, by writing it down on paper or parchment, as a national boundary. The fact of separation, if it comes, gives up, on the part of the seceding section, the fugitive slave clause, along with all other constitutional obligations upon the section seceded from, while I should expect no treaty stipulation would ever be made to take its place.

"But there is another difficulty. The great interior region, bounded east by the Alleghanies, north by the British Dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of corn and cotton meets, and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa,

Minnesota, and the Territories of Dakotah, Nebraska, and part of Colorado, already has above ten millions of people, and will have fifty millions within fifty years, if not prevented by any political folly or mistake. It contains more than one third of the country owned by the United Ststes—certainly more than one million of square miles. Once half as populous as Massachusetts already is, it would have more than seventy-five millions of people. A glance at the map shows that, territorially speaking, it is the great body of the Republic. The other parts are but marginal borders to it; the magnificent region sloping west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, being the deepest, and also the richest, in undeveloped resources. In the production of provisions, grains, grasses, and all which proceed from them, this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of the region which has, as yet, been brought into cultivation, and also the large and rapidly increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented. And yet this region has no sea-coast, touches no ocean any where. As part of one nation, its people now find, and may forever find, their way to Europe by New York, to South America and Africa by New Orleans, and to Asia by San Francisco. But separate our common country into two nations, as designed by the present rebellion, and every man of this great interior region is thereby cut off from some one or more of these outlets, not, perhaps, by a physical barrier, but by embarrassing and onerous trade regulations.

"And this is true *wherever* a dividing or boundary line may be fixed. Place it between the now free and slave country, or place it south of Kentucky, or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains—that none south of it can trade to any port or place north of it, and none north of it can trade to any port or place south of it, except upon terms dictated by a government foreign to them. These outlets, east, west, and south, are indispensable

to the well-being of the people inhabiting, and to inhabit, this vast interior region. *Which* of the three may be the best, is no proper question. All are better than either; and all, of right, belong to that people and to their successors forever. True to themselves, they will not ask *where* a line of separation shall be, but will vow, rather, that there shall be no such line. Nor are the marginal regions less interested in these communications to, and through them to the great outside world. They too, and each of them, must have access to this Egypt of the West without paying toll at the crossing of any national boundary.

"Our national strife springs not from our permanent part; not from the land we inhabit; not from our national homestead. There is no possible severing of this but would multiply, and not mitigate evils among us. In all its adaptations and aptitudes, it demands union, and abhors separation. In fact it would, ere long, force reunion, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost.

"Our strife pertains to ourselves—to the passing generations of men; and it can, without convulsion, be hushed forever with the passing of one generation.

"In this view, I recommend the adoption of the following resolution, and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States:

"'*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring,) That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures (or conventions) of the several States as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures (or conventions), to be valid as part or parts of the said Constitution, viz:

"'ARTICLE —. Every State, wherein slavery now exists, which shall abolish the same therein, at any time, or times, before the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one

thousand and nine hundred, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows, to wit:

"'The President of the United States shall deliver, to every such State, bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate of —— per cent. per annum, to an amount equal to the aggregate sum of _____ for each slave shown to have been therein by the eighth census of the United States, said bonds to be delivered to such State by instalments, or in one parcel, at the completion of the abolishment, accordingly as the same shall have been gradual, or at one time, within such State; and interest shall begin to run upon any such bond, only from the proper time of its delivery as aforesaid. Any State, having received bonds as aforesaid, and afterward reintroducing or tolerating slavery therein, shall refund to the United States the bonds so received, or the value thereof, and all interest paid thereon.

"'ARTICLE —. All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of the war, at any time before the end of the rebellion, shall be forever free; but all owners of such, who shall not have been disloyal, shall be compensated for them, at the same rate as is provided for States adopting abolishment of slavery, but in such way, that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

"'ARTICLE —. Congress may appropriate money, and otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States.'

"I beg indulgence to discuss these proposed articles at some length. Without slavery, the rebellion could never have existed; without slavery, it could not continue.

"Among the friends of the Union, there is great diversity of sentiment and of policy, in regard to slavery and the African race among us. Some would perpetuate slavery; some would abolish it suddenly, and without compensation; some would abolish it gradually, and with compensation; some would remove the freed people from us, and some would retain them

with us; and there are yet other minor diversities. Because of these diversities, we waste much strength in struggles among ourselves. By mutual concession we should harmonize and act together. This would be compromise; but it would be compromise among the friends, and not with the enemies of the Union. These articles are intended to embody a plan of such mutual concessions. If the plan shall be adopted, it is assumed that emancipation will follow, at least in several of the States.

"As to the first article, the main points are: first, the emancipation; secondly, the length of time for consummating it—thirty-seven years; and thirdly, the compensation.

"The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual slavery; but the length of time should greatly mitigate their dissatisfaction. The time spares both races from the evils of sudden derangement—in fact, from the necessity of any derangement—while most of those whose habitual course of thought will be disturbed by the measure, will have passed away before its consummation. They will never see it. Another class will hail the prospect of emancipation, but will deprecate the length of time. They will feel that it gives too little to the now living slaves. But it really gives them much. It saves them from the vagrant destitution which must largely attend immediate emancipation in localities where their numbers are very great; and it gives the inspiring assurance that their posterity shall be free forever. The plan leaves to each State, choosing to act under it, to abolish slavery now, or at the end of the century, or at any intermediate time, or by degrees, extending over the whole or any part of the period; and it obliges no two States to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and generally, the mode of making it. This, it would seem, must further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery, and especially of those who are to receive the compensation. Doubtless, some of those who are to pay, and not to receive, will object. Yet

the measure is both just and economical. In a certain sense, the liberation of slaves is the destruction of property—property acquired by descent, or by purchase, the same as any other property. It is no less true for having been often said, that the people of the South are not more responsible for the original introduction of this property, than are the people of the North; and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say, that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance. If, then, for a common object, this property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it be done at a common charge?

"And if, with less money, or money more easily paid, we can preserve the benefits of the Union by this means, than we can by the war alone, is it not also economical to do it? Let us consider it, then. Let us ascertain the sum we have expended in the war since compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether, if that measure had been promptly accepted, by even some of the slave States, the same sum would not have done more to close the war, than has been otherwise done. If so, the measure would save money, and, in that view, would be a prudent and economical measure. Certainly it is not so easy to pay *something* as it is to pay *nothing;* but it is easier to pay a *large* sum, than it is to pay a *larger* one. And it is easier to pay any sum *when* we are able, than it is to pay it *before* we are able. The war requires large sums, and requires them at once. The aggregate sum necessary for compensated emancipation, of course, would be large. But it would require no ready cash; nor the bonds even, any faster than the emancipation progresses. This might not, and probably would not, close before the end of the thirty-seven years. At that time we shall probably have a hundred millions of people to share the burden, instead of thirty-one millions, as now. And not only so, but the increase of our population may be expected to continue for a long time after

that period, as rapidly as before; because our territory will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same ratio of increase which we have maintained, on an average, from our first national census, in 1790, until that of 1860, we should, in 1900, have a population of one hundred and three millions, two hundred and eight thousand, four hundred and fifteen. And why may we not continue that ratio far beyond that period? Our abundant room—our broad national homestead—is our ample resource. Were our territory as limited as are the British Isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated. Instead of receiving the foreign born, as now, we should be compelled to send part of the native born away. But such is not our condition. We have two millions nine hundred and sixty-three thousand square miles. Europe has three millions and eight hundred thousand, with a population averaging seventy-three and one-third persons to the square mile. Why may not our country, at some time, average as many? Is it less fertile? Has it more waste surface, by mountains, rivers, lakes, deserts, or other causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantage? If, then, we are, at some time, to be as populous as Europe, how soon? As to when this *may* be, we can judge by the past and the present; as to when it *will* be, if ever, depends much on whether we maintain the Union. Several of our States are already above the average of Europe—seventy-three and a third to the square mile. Massachusetts has one hundred and fifty-seven; Rhode Island, one hundred and thirty-three; Connecticut, ninety-nine; New York and New Jersey, each, eighty. Also two other great States, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are not far below, the former having sixty-three, and the latter fifty-nine. The States already above the European average, except New York, have increased in as rapid a ratio, since passing that point, as ever before; while no one of them is equal to some other parts of our country, in natural capacity for sustaining a dense population.

"Taking the nation in the aggregate, and we find its population and ratio of increase, for the several decennial periods, to be as follows:

1790	3,929,827		
1800	5,305,937	35.02 per cent.	ratio of increase
1810	7,239,814	36.45 "	"
1820	9,638,131	33.13 "	"
1830	12,866,020	33.49 "	"
1840	17,069,453	32.67 "	"
1850	23,191,876	35.87 "	"
1860	31,443,790	35.58 "	"

"This shows an average decennial increase of 34.60 per cent. in population through the seventy years from our first, to our last census yet taken. It is seen that the ratio of increase, at no one of these seven periods, is either two per cent. below, or two per cent. above, the average, thus showing how inflexible, and, consequently, how reliable, the law of increase, in our case is. Assuming that it will continue, gives the following results:

1870	42,323,341
1880	56,967,216
1890	76,677,872
1900	103,208,415
1910	138.918,526
1920	186,984,335
1930	251,680,914

"These figures show that our country *may* be as populous as Europe now is, at some point between 1920 and 1930—say about 1925—our territory, at seventy-three and a third persons to the square mile, having the capacity to contain 217,186,000.

"And we *will* reach this, too, if we do not ourselves relinquish the chance, by the folly and evils of disunion, or by long and exhausting war, springing from the only great element of

national discord among us. While it can not be foreseen exactly how much one huge example of secession, breeding lesser ones indefinitely, would retard population, civilization, and prosperity, no one can doubt that the extent of it would be very great and injurious.

"The proposed emancipation would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, insure this increase of population, and proportionately the wealth of the country. With these, we should pay all the emancipation would cost, together with our other debt, easier than we should pay our other debt without it. If we had allowed our old national debt to run at six per cent. per annum, simple interest, from the end of our revolutionary struggle until to-day, without paying any thing on either principal or interest, each man of us would owe less upon that debt now, than each man owed upon it then; and this because our increase of men, through the whole period, has been greater than six per cent.; has run faster than the interest upon the debt. Thus, time alone relieves a debtor nation, so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interest accumulates on its debt.

"This fact would be no excuse for delaying payment of what is justly due; but it shows the great importance of time in this connection—the great advantage of a policy by which we shall not have to pay until we number a hundred millions, what, by a different policy, we would have to pay now, when we number but thirty-one millions. In a word, it shows that a dollar will be much harder to pay for the war, than will be a dollar for emancipation on the proposed plan. And then the latter will cost no blood, no precious life. It will be a saving of both.

"As to the second article, I think it would be impracticable to return to bondage the class of persons therein contemplated. Some of them, doubtless, in the property sense, belong to loyal owners; and hence, provision is made in this article for compensating such.

"The third article relates to the future of the freed people.

It does not oblige, but merely authorizes, Congress to aid in colonizing such as may consent. This ought not to be regarded as objectionable, on the one hand or on the other, in so much as it comes to nothing, unless by the mutual consent of the people to be deported, and the American voters, through their representatives in Congress.

"I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization. And yet I wish to say there is an objection urged against free colored persons remaining in the country, which is largely imaginable, if not sometimes malicious.

"It is insisted that their presence would injure and displace white labor and white laborers. If there ever could be a proper time for mere catch arguments, that time surely is not now. In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity. Is it true, then, that colored people can displace any more white labor by being free, than by remaining slaves? If they stay in their old places, they jostle no white laborers; if they leave their old places, they leave them open to white laborers. Logically, there is neither more nor less of it. Emancipation, even without deportation, would probably enhance the wages of white labor, and, very surely, would not reduce them. Thus, the customary amount of labor would still have to be performed; the freed people would surely not do more than their old proportion of it, and very probably, for a time, would do less, leaving an increased part to white laborers, bringing their labor into greater demand, and consequently, enhancing the wages of it. With deportation, even to a limited extent, enhanced wages to white labor is mathematically certain. Labor is like any other commodity in the market—increase the demand for it, and you increase the price of it. Reduce the supply of black labor, by colonizing the black laborer out of the country, and by precisely so much, you increase the demand for, and wages of, white labor.

"But it is dreaded that the freed people will swarm forth, and cover the whole land? Are they not already in the land? Will liberation make them any more numerous? Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country, and there would be but one colored to seven whites. Could the one, in any way, greatly disturb the seven? There are many communities now, having more than one free colored person to seven whites; and this without any apparent consciousness of evil from it. The District of Columbia, and the States of Maryland and Delaware, are all in this condition. The District has more than one free colored to six whites; and yet, in its frequent petitions to Congress, I believe it has never presented the presence of free colored persons as one of its grievances. But why should emancipation South send the freed people North? People, of any color, seldom run, unless there be something to run from. *Heretofore,* colored people, to some extent, have fled North from bondage; and *now,* perhaps, from both bondage and destitution. But if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted, they will have neither to flee from. Their old masters will give them wages, at least until new laborers can be procured; and the freed men, in turn, will gladly give their labor for the wages, till new homes can be found for them in congenial climes, and with people of their own blood and race. This proposition can be trusted on the mutual interest involved. And, in any event, cannot the North decide for itself, whether to receive them?

"Again, as practice proves more than theory, in any case, has there been any irruption of colored people northward, because of the abolishment of slavery in this District last spring?

"What I have said of the proportion of free colored persons to the whites, in the District, is from the census of 1860, having no reference to persons called contrabands, nor to those made free by the act of Congress abolishing slavery here.

"The plan consisting of these articles is recommended, not

but that a restoration of the national authority would be accepted without its adoption.

"Nor will the war, nor proceedings under the proclamation of September 22, 1862, be stayed because of the *recommendation* of this plan. Its timely *adoption*, I doubt not, would bring restoration, and thereby stay both.

"And, notwithstanding this plan, the recommendation that Congress provide by law for compensating any State which may adopt emancipation, before this plan shall have been acted upon, is hereby earnestly renewed. Such would be only an advance part of the plan, and the same arguments apply to both.

"This plan is recommended as a means, not in exclusion of but in addition to, all others for restoring and preserving the national authority throughout the Union. The subject is presented exclusively in its economical aspect. The plan would, I am confident, secure peace more speedily, and maintain it more permanently, than can be done by force alone; while all it would cost, considering amounts, and manner of payment, and times of payment, would be easier paid than will be the additional cost of the war, if we rely solely upon force. It is much—very much—that it would cost no blood at all.

"The plan is proposed as permanent constitutional law. It cannot become such without the concurrence of, first, two-thirds of Congress, and, afterward, three-fourths of the States. The requisite three-fourths of the States will necessarily include seven of the slave States. Their concurrence, if obtained, will give assurance of their severally adopting emancipation, at no very distant day, upon the new constitutional terms. This assurance would end the struggle now, and save the Union forever.

"I do not forget the gravity which should characterize a paper addressed to the Congress of the nation, by the Chief Magistrate of the nation. Nor do I forget that some of you are my seniors; nor that many of you have more experience

than I, in the conduct of public affairs. Yet I trust that, in view of the great responsibility resting upon me, you will perceive no want of respect to yourselves, in any undue earnestness I may seem to display.

"Is it doubted, then, that the plan I propose, if adopted, would shorten the war, and thus lessen its expenditure of money and of blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national authority and national prosperity, and perpetuate both indefinitely? Is it doubted that we here—Congress and Executive—can secure its adoption? Will not the good people respond to a united and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means, so certainly, or so speedily, assure these vital objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not 'Can *any* of us *imagine* better?' but, 'Can we *all* do better?' Object whatsoever is possible, still the question recurs, 'Can we do better?' The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

"Fellow-citizens, *we* cannot escape history. We, of this Congress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We *say* we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even *we here*—hold the power, and bear the responsibility. In *giving* freedom to the *slave*, we *assure* freedom to the *free*—honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.

"*December* 1, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

At the very outset of the session, the opposition leaders, elated with their recent successes in the elections, brought forward resolutions strongly censuring the Administration for its arrest of persons, in the loyal States, suspected of giving aid and comfort to the rebellion. Prolonged discussion on the subject, resulted at length in the passage of a bill fully indorsing the action of the Executive in the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, and indemnifying the President, as well as all governmental officials concerned in such arrests as had been made; and further, authorizing the President, during the existence of the war, to declare the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, "at such times, and in such places, and with regard to such persons, as in his judgment the public safety may require."

The relations in which the rebel States were placed by their secession, towards the general government, came up before the House, and was warmly debated, but no vote was taken which directly implicated the opinion of the House on the theoretical question involved. A bill directing the President to raise, arm, and equip as many volunteers of African descent as he might deem useful, for such term of service as he might think proper, not exceeding five years—to be officered by white or black persons, in the President's discretion—slaves to be accepted as well as freemen, was, after considerable discussion, passed. It was, however, on reaching the Senate, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, which, on the 12th of February, reported against its passage, on the ground that the authority which it was intended to confer upon the President was already sufficiently granted in the act of the previous

session, approved July 17, 1862, which authorized the President to employ, in any military or naval service for which they might be found competent, persons of African descent.

A bill, commonly known as the "Conscription Act," was passed, providing for the creation of a national force by enrolling and drafting the militia of the whole country,—each State being required to contribute its quota in the ratio of its population, and the whole force, when raised, to be under the control of the President. Some measure of the kind was rendered absolutely necessary by the revival of party spirit throughout the loyal States, and by the active and effective efforts of the Democratic party, emboldened by the results of the fall elections of 1862, to discourage and prevent volunteering. So successful had they been in this work, that the government seemed likely to fail in its efforts to raise men for another campaign; and it was to avert this disaster that the bill in question was brought forward for the action of Congress.

A financial bill was also passed by both houses, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow and issue bonds for nine hundred million dollars, at not more than six per cent. interest, and payable at not less than ten, nor more than forty years. He was also authorized to issue treasury interest-bearing notes to the amount of four hundred million dollars, and notes not bearing interest to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. During the pendency of this bill, a joint resolution passed both houses, authorizing the issue of one hundred million dollars in treasury notes to meet the immediate wants of the soldiers and sailors in

service. The President's approval of this bill was accompanied by a special message, in which he remarks:

"While giving this approval, however, I think it my duty to express my sincere regret that it has been found necessary to authorize so large an additional issue of United States notes, when this circulation, and that of the suspended banks together, have become already so redundant as to increase prices beyond real values, thereby augmenting the cost of living to the injury of labor, and the cost of supplies, to the injury of the whole country. It seems very plain that continued issues of United States notes, without any check to the issues of suspended banks, and without adequate provision for the raising of money by loans, and for funding the issues, so as to keep them within due limits, must soon produce disastrous consequences; and this matter appears to me so important that I feel bound to avail myself of this occasion to ask the special attention of Congress to it.

"That Congress has power to regulate the currency of the country can hardly admit of doubt, and that a judicious measure to prevent the deterioration of this currency, by a reasonable taxation of bank circulation, or otherwise, is needed, seems equally clear. Independently of this general consideration, it would be unjust to the people at large to exempt banks enjoying the special privilege of circulation, from their just proportion of the public burdens.

"In order to raise money by way of loans most easily and cheaply, it is clearly necessary to give every possible support to the public credit. To that end, a uniform currency, in which taxes, subscriptions, loans, and all other ordinary public dues may be paid, is almost if not quite indispensable. Such a currency can be furnished by banking associations authorized under a general act of Congress, as suggested in my message at the beginning of the present session. The securing of this circulation by the pledge of the United States bonds, as herein

suggested, would still further facilitate loans, by increasing the present and causing a future demand for such bonds.

"In view of the actual financial embarrassment of the government, and of the greater embarrassment sure to come if the necessary means of relief be not afforded, I feel that I should not perform my duty by a simple announcement of my approval of the joint resolution, which proposes relief only by increasing the circulation, without expressing my earnest desire that measures, such in substance as that I have just referred to, may receive the early sanction of Congress. By such measures, in my opinion, will payment be most certainly secured, not only to the army and navy, but to all honest creditors of the government, and satisfactory provision made for future demands on the Treasury."

The second bill, providing a national currency, secured by a pledge of United States stocks, and providing for the circulation and redemption thereof, was passed, under the twofold conviction that so long as the war continued, the country must have a large supply of paper money, and that it was also particularly desirable that this money should be national in its character, and its security based on the faith of the government.

Among the principal transactions of this session, aside from the necessary appropriations, were—the admission of the new State of West Virginia, by an act approved December 31st, 1862; the organization of the new Territories of Arizona and of Idaho; the passage of a stringent act to prevent and punish frauds upon the government; an authorization of letters of marque and reprisal; and the passage of an act providing for the collection of abandoned property in insurrectionary districts. Its spirit manifested the same thorough and fixed determination to carry on the war, by the use of

the most vigorous and effective measures for the suppression of the rebellion, and the President received from it the same full and prompt support which he had from the preceding Congress.

While certain members of the opposition had assumed a greater boldness of hostility to the administration, some of them defiantly avowing their desire that further resistance to armed rebellion should cease; and while some of the administration party, even, impatient of the delays which seemed to mark the progress of the war, insisted upon bolder measures—especially towards the institution of slavery—the majority of the members of Congress, as well as the great body of the people, manifested an unabated confidence in the patriotism and sagacity evinced by the President in his conduct of public affairs.

This was still more clearly demonstrated during the elections which followed, shortly after the adjournment of Congress, in the States of New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island—in which, although the opposition spared no pains to procure a popular verdict against the administration, the result was an emphatic indorsement of President Lincoln and his policy. It was evident that a healthy reaction was taking place in the public mind, and that the critical point of the political position was successfully passed.

The relations of the government with European nations during the year 1862, were on the whole satisfactory. In official intercourse with these foreign powers, the President and his Secretary of State uniformly held firm and decided language in regard to the rebellion, and the relations of the rebellious States to the National

Government; while our minister in London persistently and ably labored to arouse the British government to its duty in the prevention of the building and fitting-out of vessels of war in English ports to be used by the rebels in destroying the commerce of the United States. That government, however, blinded to justice by the strength of its prejudices, proved deaf to all the remonstrances thus urged by a friendly power.

The prominent issue before the people, in the elections this year, was the policy of the administration in regard to emancipation. This measure, which had already proved both at home and abroad an element of great and increasing strength in the suppression of the rebellion, also commended itself to the world as being in accordance with the clearest interests of civilization and humanity. A gratifying evidence of this was furnished by the testimonial sent to Mr. Lincoln, in the early part of the year, from the workingmen of Manchester, in England; and from which we make the following extracts:

"As citizens of Manchester, assembled at the Free-Trade Hall, we beg to express our fraternal sentiments toward you and your country. We rejoice in your greatness as an outgrowth of England, whose blood and language you share, whose orderly and legal freedom you have applied to new circumstances, over a region immeasurably greater than our own. We honor your free States, as a singularly happy abode for the working millions where industry is honored. One thing alone has, in the past, lessened our sympathy with your country, and our confidence in it—we mean the ascendency of politicians who not merely maintained negro slavery, but desired to extend and root it more firmly. We joyfully honor you, as

the President, and the Congress with you, for many decisive steps toward practically exemplifying your belief in the words of your great founders: 'All men are created free and equal.' You have procured the liberation of the slaves in the district around Washington, and thereby made the centre of your federation visibly free. You have enforced the laws against the slave-trade, and kept up your fleet against it, even while every ship was wanted for service in your terrible war. You have nobly decided to receive embassadors from the negro republics of Hayti and Liberia, thus forever renouncing that unworthy prejudice which refuses the rights of humanity to men and women on account of their color. In order more effectually to stop the slave-trade, you have made with our Queen a treaty, which your Senate has ratified, for the right of mutual search. Your Congress has decreed freedom as the law forever in the vast unoccupied or half-unsettled Territories which are directly subject to its legislative power. It has offered pecuniary aid to all States which will enact emancipation locally, and has forbidden your Generals to restore fugitive slaves who seek their protection. You have entreated the slave-masters to accept these moderate offers; and after long and patient waiting, you, as commander-in-chief of the army, have appointed to-morrow, the first of January, 1863, as the day of unconditional freedom for the slaves of the rebel States. We implore you, for your own honor and welfare, not to faint in your providential mission. While your enthusiasm is aflame, and the tide of events runs high, let the work be finished effectually. Leave no root of bitterness to spring up and work fresh misery to your children. It is a mighty task, indeed, to reorganize the industry not only of four millions of the colored race, but of five millions of whites. Nevertheless, the vast progress you have made in the short space of twenty months, fill us with hope that every stain on your freedom will shortly be removed, and that the erasure of that foul blot upon civilization and Christianity—chattel slavery—during your Presidency, will

cause the name of Abraham Lincoln to be honored and revered by posterity."

To this address Mr. Lincoln sent the following reply:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *January* 19, 1863.

"TO THE WORKINGMEN OF MANCHESTER:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the address and resolutions which you sent me on the eve of the new year.

"When I came, on the 4th of March, 1861, through a free and constitutional election, to preside in the government of the United States, the country was found at the verge of civil war. Whatever might have been the cause, or whosesoever the fault, one duty, paramount to all others, was before me, namely, to maintain and preserve at once the Constitution and the integrity of the Federal Republic. A conscientious purpose to perform this duty is the key to all the measures of administration which have been, and to all which will hereafter be pursued. Under our frame of government and my official oath, I could not depart from this purpose if I would. It is not always in the power of governments to enlarge or restrict the scope of moral results which follow the policies that they may deem it necessary, for the public safety, from time to time to adopt.

"I have understood well that the duty of self-preservation rests solely with the American people. But I have, at the same time, been aware that the favor or disfavor of foreign nations might have a material influence in enlarging and prolonging the struggle with disloyal men in which the country is engaged. A fair examination of history has seemed to authorize a belief that the past action and influences of the United States were generally regarded as having been beneficial toward mankind. I have, therefore, reckoned upon the forbearance of nations. Circumstances—to some of which you kindly allude—induced me especially to expect that, if justice and good faith should be practiced by the United States, they would encounter no hostile

influence on the part of Great Britain. It is now a pleasant duty to acknowledge the demonstration you have given of your desire that a spirit of peace and amity toward this country may prevail in the councils of your Queen, who is respected and esteemed in your own country only more than she is by the kindred nation which has its home on this side of the Atlantic.

"I know, and deeply deplore, the sufferings which the workingmen at Manchester, and in all Europe, are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this Government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through the action of our disloyal citizens, the workingmen of Europe have been subjected to severe trial, for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under these circumstances, I can not but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism, which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. It is indeed an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth, and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity and freedom. I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation; and, on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem, and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that, whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exists between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perpetual.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

Later in the season Mr. Lincoln was invited to revisit his home in Springfield, on the occasion of a mass meet-

ing of the Unconditional Unionists of Illinois, to be held at that place.

Finding it impossible to accept the invitation, he wrote in reply the following letter, in which several of the most conspicuous features of his policy are clearly and firmly defended against the censures by which they had been assailed:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *August 26th*, 1863.
"HON. JAMES C. CONKLING:

"MY DEAR SIR:—Your letter, inviting me to attend a mass meeting of unconditional Union men, to be held at the capital of Illinois, on the third day of September, has been received. It would be very agreeable for me thus to meet my old friends at my own home; but I cannot just now be absent from here so long as a visit there would require.

"The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union; and I am sure that my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the nation's gratitude to those other noble men whom no partisan malice or partisan hope can make false to the nation's life.

"There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say, you desire peace, and you blame me that we do not have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways: First—to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are agreed. If you are not for it, a *second* way is to give up the Union. I am against this. Are you for it? If you are, you should say so plainly. If you are not for *force*, nor yet for *dissolution*, there only remains some imaginable *compromise*.

"I do not believe that any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible. All that I learn leads to a directly opposite belief. The strength of the rebellion is its military, its army. That army dominates all the country,

and all the people within its range. Any offer of terms made by any man or men within that range, in opposition to that army, is simply nothing for the present; because such man or men have no power whatever to enforce their side of a compromise, if one were made with them.

"To illustrate: Suppose refugees from the South and peace men of the North get together in convention, and frame and proclaim a compromise embracing restoration of the Union. In what way can that compromise be used to keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? Meade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania, and, I think, can ultimately drive it out of existence. But no paper compromise to which the controllers of Lee's army are not agreed can at all affect that army. In an effort at such compromise we would waste time, which the enemy would improve to our disadvantage; and that would be all.

"A compromise, to be effective, must be made either with those who control the rebel army, or with the people, first liberated from the domination of that army by the success of our own army. Now, allow me to assure you that no word or intimation from that rebel army, or from any of the men controlling it, in relation to any peace compromise, has ever come to my knowledge or belief. All charges and insinuations to the contrary are deceptive and groundless. And I promise you that if any such proposition shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept a secret from you. I freely acknowledge myself to be the servant of the people, according to the bond of service, the United States Constitution; and that, as such, I am responsible to them.

"But, to be plain. You are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while you, I suppose, do not. Yet, I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure which is not consistent with even your view, provided that you are for the

Union. I suggested compensated emancipation; to which you replied you wished not to be taxed to buy negroes. But I had not asked you to be taxed to buy negroes, except in such a a way as to save you from greater taxation to save the Union exclusively by other means.

"You dislike the Emancipation Proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its Commander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said, if so much, is, that slaves are property. Is there, has there ever been, any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever it helps us and hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it; and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female.

"But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid it needs no retraction. If it is valid it cannot be retracted, any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better *after* the retraction than *before* the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation was issued, the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming, unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before.

"I know as fully as one can know the opinions of others that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important victories, believe the emancipa-

tion policy and the use of colored troops constitute the heaviest blows yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of those important successes could not have been achieved when it was, but for the aid of black soldiers.

"Among the commanders who hold these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called 'Abolitionism,' or with 'Republican party politics,' but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit their opinions as entitled to some weight against the objections often urged that emancipation and arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith.

"You say that you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively, to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes. I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers, leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept.

"The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it; nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a helping hand. On the spot, their part of the history was

jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be slighted who bore an honorable part in it. And while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that any thing has been more bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro, Gettysburg, and on many fields of less note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present, not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all. For the great Republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all.

"Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon and come to stay; and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they have striven to hinder it.

"Still, let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy, final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in His own good time, will give us the rightful result.

"Yours, very truly, A. LINCOLN."

The decisive advantages gained by the national arms, having substantially closed the rebellion in Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas, movements were immediately made by the people of those States, to secure a reorgan-

ization under local loyal governments; and a natural desire was felt to know what was the President's policy for the restoration of law and order in the territories thus reclaimed from rebel rule. This important question had already claimed Mr. Lincoln's most earnest attention—and he had been, by Act of Congress, July 17th, 1862, fully authorized to extend, by act of proclamation, pardon and amnesty to any persons who had participated in the rebellion, with such exceptions and conditions as he might deem expedient for the public welfare. In his judgment, the fitting time had now arrived for the exercise of the power thus freely vested in him. He therefore issued, simultaneously with his annual message, the following

PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS, In and by the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that the President 'shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment;' and WHEREAS, a rebellion now exists whereby the loyal State governments of several States have for a long time been subverted, and many persons have committed and are now guilty of treason against the United States; and WHEREAS, with reference to said rebellion and treason, laws have been enacted by Congress declaring forfeitures and confiscation of property and liberation of slaves, all upon terms and conditions therein stated; and also declaring that the President was thereby authorized at any time thereafter, by proclamation, to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion, in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and at such times and on such conditions, as he may deem expedient for the public welfare; and WHEREAS, the Congressional declaration for limited and conditional pardon accords with

well-established judicial exposition of the pardoning power, and WHEREAS, with reference to said rebellion, the President of the United States has issued several proclamations, with provisions in regard to the liberation of slaves; and WHEREAS, it is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in said rebellion, to resume their allegiance to the United States, and to reinaugurate loyal State governments within and for their respective States; therefore

"I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit:

"I, ————, do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God.

"The persons excepted from the benefits of the foregoing provisions are all who are, or shall have been, civil or diplomatic officers or agents of the so-called Confederate Government; all

who have left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who are, or shall have been, military or naval officers of the said so-called Confederate Government, above the rank of colonel in the army, or of lieutenant in the navy; all who have left seats in the United States Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned commissions in the Army or Navy of the United States, and afterwards aided the rebellion; and all who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity.

"And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known, that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one tenth in number of the votes cast in such States at the Presidential election of the year of our Lord, 1860, each having taken the oath aforesaid, and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a State government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that 'the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or the Executive, (when the Legislature can not be convened,) against domestic violence.'

"And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that any provision which may be adopted by such State government in relation to the freed people of such State, which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for

their education, and which may yet be consistent, as a temporary arrangement, with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class, will not be objected to by the National Executive. And it is suggested as not improper, that, in constructing a loyal State government in any State, the name of the State, the boundary, the subdivisions, the Constitution, and the general code of laws, as before the rebellion, be maintained, subject only to the modifications made necessary by the conditions hereinbefore stated, and such others, if any, not contravening said conditions, and which may be deemed expedient by those framing the new State government.

"To avoid misunderstanding, it may be proper to say that this proclamation, so far as it relates to State governments has no reference to States wherein loyal State governments have all the while been maintained. And for the same reason, it may be proper to further say that whether members sent to Congress from any State shall be admitted to seats constitutionally, rests exclusively with the respective Houses, and not to any extent with the Executive. And still further, that this proclamation is intended to present the people of the States wherein the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State governments may be re-established within said States, or in any of them; and, while the mode presented is the best the Executive can suggest, with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable.

"Given under my hand at the city of Washington, the 8th day of December, A. D. 1863, and of the Indepen-
[L. S.] dence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The victories of the Union arms during the summer of 1863, with all their important train of influences at home and abroad, had produced a vigorous and healthy

condition of the public sentiment of the country. It is true, indeed, that there was still considerable partizan opposition to the acts of the administration, which in some quarters even took the form of open hostility to the further prosecution of the war; but, the people were "full of pluck," and the Union party entered the political contests of the autumn of 1863 with confident courage. The canvass which ensued was earnest on both sides, but every State in which elections were held, except only New Jersey, cast its influence in support of the National Government; while, in the larger States, the majorities were so large as to make the result of more than ordinary significance. Ohio repudiated Vallandigham, who had been nominated for Governor solely on account of the issue he had made with the Government in the matter of his arrest, by a majority of nearly one hundred thousand. New York, disgraced by the draft-riots, and with a strong administration Governor elected only the year before, gave the administration a majority of near thirty thousand, while Pennsylvania re-elected her sturdy patriotic Governor, in the face of strong opposition, by about the same majority.

The result was, therefore, justly claimed as a decided verdict of the people, in support of the government, and its effect upon all parties was of marked importance. While it strengthened the hands of the administration, it also developed a division of sentiment in the ranks of the opposition.

Mr. Lincoln's annual message was sent in to Congress on the 9th day of December. This document—omitting only portions of less abiding interest—is as follows:

ANNUAL MESSAGE.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: Another year of health and sufficiently abundant harvests, has passed. For these, and especially for the improved condition of our national affairs, our renewed and profoundest gratitude to God is due.

"We remain in peace and friendship with foreign powers.

"The efforts of disloyal citizens of the United States to involve us in foreign wars, to aid an inexcusable insurrection, have been unavailing. Her Britannic Majesty's Government, as was justly expected, have exercised their authority to prevent the departure of new hostile expeditions from British ports. The Emperor of France has, by a like proceeding, promptly vindicated the neutrality which he proclaimed at the beginning of the contest. Questions of great intricacy and importance have arisen, out of the blockade and other belligerent operations, between the government and several of the maritime powers, but they have been discussed, and as far as was possible, accommodated in a spirit of frankness, justice, and mutual good will. It is especially gratifying that our prize courts, by the impartiality of their adjudications, have commanded the respect and confidence of maritime powers.

"The supplemental treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave trade, made on the 17th day of February last, has been duly ratified, and carried into execution. It is believed that, so far as American ports and American citizens are concerned, that inhuman and odious traffic has been brought to an end. . . .

"Incidents occurring in the progress of our civil war have forced upon my attention the uncertain state of international questions touching the rights of foreigners in this country and of United States citizens abroad. In regard to some governments, these rights are at least partially defined by treaties. In no instance, however, is it expressly stipulated that, in the event of civil war, a foreigner residing in this country, within

the lines of the insurgents, is to be exempted from the rule which classes him as a belligerent, in whose behalf the government of his country cannot expect any privileges or immunities distinct from that character. I regret to say, however, that such claims have been put forward, and, in some instances, in behalf of foreigners who have lived in the United States the greater part of their lives.

"There is reason to believe that many persons born in foreign countries, who have delared their intention to become citizens, or who have been fully naturalized, have evaded the military duty required of them by denying the fact, and thereby throwing upon the government the burden of proof. It has been found difficult or impracticable to obtain this proof, from the want of guides to the proper sources of information. These might be supplied by requiring clerks of courts, where declarations of intention may be made, or naturalizations effected, to send periodically, lists of the names of the persons naturalized, or declaring their intention to become citizens, to the Secretary of the Interior, in whose department those names might be arranged and printed for general information.

"There is also reason to believe that foreigners frequently become citizens of the United States for the sole purpose of evading duties imposed by the laws of their native countries to which, on becoming naturalized here, they at once repair, and though never returning to the United States, they still claim the interposition of this government as citizens. Many altercations and great prejudices have heretofore arisen out of this abuse. It is, therefore, submitted to your serious consideration. It might be advisable to fix a limit, beyond which no citizen of the United States residing abroad may claim the interposition of his government.

"The right of suffrage has often been assumed and exercised by aliens, under pretences of naturalization, which they have disa.owed when drafted into the military service. I submit

the expediency of such an amendment of the law as will make the fact of voting an estoppel against any plea of exemption from military service, or other civil obligation, on the ground of alienage. . . . . .

"The condition of the several organized territories is generally satisfactory, although Indian disturbances in New Mexico have not been entirely suppressed. The mineral resources of Colorado, Nevada, Idaho, New Mexico, and Arizona, are proving far richer than has been heretofore understood. I lay before you a communication on this subject, from the Governor of New Mexico. I again submit to your consideration the expediency of establishing a system for the encouragement of immigration. Although this source of national wealth and strength is again flowing with greater freedom than for several years before the insurrection occurred, there is still a great deficiency of laborers in every field of industry, especially in agriculture and in our mines, as well of iron and coal as of the precious metals. While the demand for labor is thus increased here, tens of thousands of persons, destitute of remunerative occupation, are thronging our foreign consulates, and offering to emigrate to the United States if essential, but very cheap, assistance can be afforded them. It is easy to see that, under the sharp discipline of civil war, the nation is beginning a new life. This noble effort demands the aid, and ought to receive the attention and support, of the government.

"Injuries, unforeseen by the government, and unintended, may, in some cases, have been inflicted on the subjects or citizens of foreign countries, both at sea and on land, by persons in the service of the United States. As this government expects redress from other powers when similar injuries are inflicted by persons in their service upon citizens of the United States, we must be prepared to do justice to foreigners. If the existing judicial tribunals are inadequate to this purpose, a special court may be authorized, with power to hear and decide such claims of the character referred to as may have

arisen under treaties and the public law. Conventions for adjusting the claims by joint commission have been proposed to some governments, but no definite answer to the proposition has yet been received from any.

"In the course of the session, I shall probably have occasion to request you to provide indemnification to claimants where decrees of restitution have been rendered and damages awarded by admiralty courts, and in other cases, where this government may be acknowledged to be liable in principle, and where the amount of that liability has been ascertained by an informal arbitration. . . . .

"The operations of the Treasury during the last year have been successfully conducted. The enactment by Congress of a National Banking Law has proved a valuable support of the public credit; and the general legislation in relation to loans has fully answered the expectations of its favorers. Some amendments may be required to perfect existing laws; but no change in their principles or general scope is believed to be needed.

"Since these measures have been in operation, all demands on the Treasury, including the pay of the army and navy, have been promptly met and fully satisfied. No considerable body of troops, it is believed, were ever more amply provided, and more liberally and punctually paid; and it may be added that by no people were the burdens incident to a great war ever more cheerfully borne.

"The report of the Secretary of War is a document of great interest. It consists of—

"1. The military operations of the year, detailed in the report of the General-in-Chief.

"2. The organization of colored persons into the war service.

"3. The exchange of prisoners, fully set forth in the letter of General Hitchcock.

"4. The operations under the act for enrolling and calling out the national forces, detailed in the report of the Provost Marshal General.

"5. The organization of the invalid corps; and

"6. The operation of the several departments of the Quartermaster-General, Commissary-General, Paymaster-General, Chief of Engineers, Chief of Ordnance, and Surgeon-General.

"It has appeared impossible to make a valuable summary of this report, except such as would be too extended for this place, and hence I content myself by asking your careful attention to the report itself.

"The duties devolving on the naval branch of the service during the year, and throughout the whole of this unhappy contest, have been discharged with fidelity and eminent success. The extensive blockade has been constantly increasing in efficiency, and the navy has expanded; yet on so long a line it has so far been impossible to entirely suppress illicit trade. From returns received at the Navy Department, it appears that more than one thousand vessels have been captured since the blockade was instituted, and that the value of prizes already sent in for adjudication, amounts to over thirteen million dollars.

"The naval force of the United States consists, at this time, of five hundred and eighty-eight vessels, completed and in the course of completion, and of these seventy-five are iron-clad or armored steamers. The events of the war give an increased interest and importance to the navy, which will probably extend beyond the war itself.

"The armored vessels in our navy, completed and in service, or which are under contract and approaching completion, are believed to exceed in number those of any other power. But while these may be relied upon for harbor defence and coast service, others, of greater strength and capacity, will be necessary for cruising purposes, and to maintain our rightful position on the ocean.

"The change that has taken place in naval vessels and naval warfare since the introduction of steam as a motive power for ships-of-war, demands either a corresponding change in some of our existing navy-yards, or the establishment of new ones,

for the construction and necessary repair of modern naval vessels. No inconsiderable embarrassment, delay, and public injury have been experienced from the want of such governmental establishments. The necessity of such a navy-yard, so furnished, at some suitable place upon the Atlantic seaboard, has, on repeated occasions, been brought to the attention of Congress by the Navy Department, and is again presented in the report of the Secretary which accompanies this communication. I think it my duty to invite your special attention to this subject, and also to that of establishing a yard and depot for naval purposes upon one of the Western rivers. A naval force has been created on those interior waters, and under many disadvantages, within little more than two years, exceeding in numbers the whole naval force of the country at the commencement of the present administration. Satisfactory and important as have been the performances of the heroic men of the navy at this interesting period, they are scarcely more wonderful than the success of our mechanics and artisans in the production of war vessels, which has created a new form of naval power.

"Our country has advantages superior to any other nation in our resources of iron and timber, with inexhaustible quantities of fuel in the immediate vicinity of both, and all available and in close proximity to navigable waters. Without the advantage of public works, the resources of the nation have been developed, and its power displayed, in the construction of a navy of such magnitude, which has, at the very period of its creation, rendered signal service to the Union.

"The increase of the number of seamen in the public service, from seven thousand five hundred men in the spring of 1861, to about thirty-four thousand at the present time, has been accomplished without special legislation or extraordinary bounties to promote that increase. It has been found, however, that the operation of the draft, with the high bounties paid for army recruits, is beginning to affect injuriously the naval service,

and will, if not corrected, be likely to impair its efficiency, by detaching seamen from their proper vocation and inducing them to enter the army. I therefore respectfully suggest that Congress might aid both the army and naval service by a definite provision on this subject, which would at the same time be equitable to the communities more especially interested.

"I commend to your consideration the suggestions of the Secretary of the Navy in regard to the policy of fostering and training seamen, and also the education of officers and engineers for the naval service. The Naval Academy is rendering signal service in preparing midshipmen for the highly responsible duties which in after-life they will be required to perform. In order that the country should not be deprived of the proper quota of educated officers for which legal provision has been made at the Naval School, the vacancies caused by the neglect or omission to make nominations from the States in insurrection have been filled by the Secretary of the Navy. The school is now more full and complete than at any former period, and in every respect entitled to the favorable consideration of Congress.

"The measures provided at your last session for the removal of certain Indian tribes, have been carried into effect. Sundry treaties have been negotiated which will, in due time, be submitted for the constitutional action of the Senate. They contain stipulations for extinguishing the possessory rights of the Indians to large and valuable tracts of lands. It is hoped that the effects of these treaties will result in the establishment of permanent friendly relations with such of these tribes as have been brought into frequent and bloody collision with our outlying settlements and emigrants. Sound policy and our imperative duty to these wards of the government demand our anxious and constant attention to their material well-being, to their progress in the arts of civilization, and above all, to that moral training which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, will confer upon them the elevated and sanctifying influences, the hopes and consolations of the Christian faith. . . . . .

"When Congress assembled a year ago, the war had already lasted nearly twenty months; and there had been many conflicts on both land and sea, with varying results. The rebellion had been pressed back into reduced limits; yet the tone of public feeling at home and abroad, was not satisfactory. With other signs, the popular elections, then just past, indicated uneasiness among ourselves, while amid much that was cold and menacing, the kindest words coming from Europe were uttered in accents of pity that we were too blind to surrender a hopeless cause. Our commerce was suffering greatly by a few armed vessels built upon and furnished from foreign shores; and we were threatened with such additions from the same quarter as would sweep our trade from the sea and raise our blockade. We had failed to elicit from European governments anything hopeful upon this subject. The preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, issued in September, was running its assigned period to the beginning of the new year. A month later the final proclamation came, including the announcement that colored men of suitable condition would be received into the war service. The policy of emancipation, and of employing black soldiers, gave to the future a new aspect, about which hope and fear and doubt contended in uncertain conflicts. According to our political system, as a matter of civil administration, the general government had no lawful power to effect emancipation in any State; and for a long time it had been hoped that the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to it as a military measure. It was all the while deemed possible that the necessity for it might come, and that, if it should, the crisis of the contest would then be presented. It came, and as was anticipated, it was followed by dark and doubtful days. Eleven months having now passed, we are permitted to take another review. The rebel borders are pressed still further back, and by the complete opening of the Mississippi the country dominated by the rebellion is divided into distinct parts, with no practical communication between them. Ten-

nessee and Arkansas have been substantially cleared of insurgent control, and influential citizens in each, owners of slaves and advocates of slavery at the beginning of the rebellion, now declare openly for emancipation in their respective States. Of those States not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, Maryland and Missouri, neither of which, three years ago, would tolerate any restraint upon the extension of slavery into new Territories, only dispute now as to the best mode of removing it within their own limits.

"Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full one hundred thousand are now in the United States military service, about one-half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks; thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labor from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men. So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any. No servile insurrection, or tendency to violence or cruelty, has marked the measures of emancipation and arming the blacks. These measures have been much discussed in foreign countries, and contemporary with such discussion the tone of public sentiment there is much improved. At home the same measures have been fully discussed, supported, criticised, and denounced, and the annual elections following are highly encouraging to those whose official duty it is to bear the country through this great trial. Thus we have the new reckoning. The crisis which threatened to divide the friends of the Union is past.

"Looking now to the present and future, and with reference to a resumption of the national authority within the States wherein that authority has been suspended, I have thought fit to issue a proclamation, a copy of which is herewith transmitted. On examination of this proclamation it will appear, as is believed, that nothing is attempted beyond what is amply justified by the Constitution. True, the form of an oath is given, but no man is coerced to take it. The man is only

promised a pardon in case he voluntarily takes the oath. The Constitution authorizes the Executive to grant or withhold the pardon at his own absolute discretion; and this includes the power to grant on terms, as is fully established by judicial and other authorities.

"It is also proffered that if, in any of the States named, a State government shall be, in the mode prescribed, set up, such government shall be recognized and guaranteed by the United States, and that under it the State shall, on the constitutional conditions, be protected against invasion and domestic violence. The constitutional obligation of the United States to guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and to protect the State, in the cases stated, is explicit and full. But why tender the benefits of this provision only to a State government set up in this particular way? This section of the Constitution contemplates a case wherein the element within a State favorable to republican government, in the Union, may be too feeble for an opposite and hostile element external to or even within the State; and such are precisely the cases with which we are now dealing.

"An attempt to guarantee and protect a revived State Government, constructed in whole, or in preponderating part, from the very element against whose hostility and violence it is to be protected, is simply absurd. There must be a test by which to separate the opposing element, so as to build only from the sound; and that test is a sufficiently liberal one, which accepts as sound whoever will make a sworn recantation of his former unsoundness.

"But if it be proper to require, as a test of admission to the political body, an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, and to the Union under it, why not also to the laws and proclamations in regard to slavery? Those laws and proclamations were enacted and put forth for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion. To give them their fullest effect, there had to be a pledge for their maintenance.

In my judgment they have aided, and will further aid, the cause for which they are intended, To now abandon them would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and an astonishing breach of faith. I MAY ADD AT THIS POINT THAT, WHILE I REMAIN IN MY PRESENT POSITION, I SHALL NOT ATTEMPT TO RETRACT OR MODIFY THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION; NOR SHALL I RETURN TO SLAVERY ANY PERSON WHO IS FREE BY THE TERMS OF THAT PROCLAMATION, OR BY ANY OF THE ACTS OF CONGRESS. For these and other reasons, it is thought best that support of these measures shall be included in the oath; and it is believed the Executive may lawfully claim it in return for pardon and restoration of forfeited rights, which he has clear constitutional power to withhold altogether, or grant upon the terms which he shall deem wisest for the public interest. It should be observed, also, that this part of the oath is subject to the modifying and abrogating power of legislation and supreme judicial decision.

"The proposed acquiescence of the national Executive in any reasonable temporary State arrangement for the freed people, is made with the view of possibly modifying the confusion and destitution which must, at best, attend all classes by a total revolution of labor throughout whole States. It is hoped that the already deeply afflicted people in those States may be somewhat more ready to give up the cause of their affliction, if, to this extent, this vital matter be left to themselves; while no power of the national Executive to prevent an abuse, is abridged by the proposition.

"The suggestion in the proclamation as to maintaining the political framework of the States on what is called reconstruction, is made in the hope that it may do good without danger of harm. It will save labor, and avoid great confusion.

"But why any proclamation now upon this subject? This question is beset with the conflicting views that the step might be delayed too long or be taken too soon. In some States the

elements for resumption seem ready for action, but remain inactive, apparently for want of a rallying point—a plan of action. Why shall A adopt the plan of B, rather than B that of A? And if A and B should agree, how can they know but that the general government here will reject their plan? By the proclamation, a plan is presented which may be accepted by them as a rallying point, and which they are assured in advance will not be rejected here. This may bring them to act sooner than they otherwise would.

"The objection to a premature presentation of a plan by the national Executive consists in the danger of committals on points which could be more safely left to further developments. Care has been taken to so shape the document as to avoid embarrassments from this source. Saying that, on certain terms, certain classes will be pardoned, with rights restored, it is not said that other classes or other terms will never be included. Saying that reconstruction will be accepted, if presented in a specified way, it is not said it will never be accepted in any other way.

"The movements, by State action, for emancipation in several of the States, not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, are matters of profound gratulation. And while I do not repeat in detail what I have heretofore so earnestly urged upon this subject, my general views and feelings remain unchanged; and I trust that Congress will omit no fair opportunity of aiding these important steps to a great consummation.

"In the midst of other cares, however important, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war power is still our main reliance. To that power alone can we look, yet for a time, to give confidence to the people in the contested regions that the insurgent power will not again overrun them. Until that confidence shall be established, little can be done anywhere for what is called reconstruction. Hence our chiefest care must still be directed to the army and navy, who have thus far borne their harder part so nobly and well. And it may be esteemed

fortunate that in giving the greatest efficiency to these indispensable arms, we do also honorably recognize the gallant men, from commander to sentinel, who compose them, and to whom, more than to others, the world must stand indebted for the home of freedom disenthralled, regenerated, enlarged, and perpetuated.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"*Dec. 8th,* 1863."

During this session, the President found in Congress a ready co-operation in all measures for the prosecution of the war. A system of direct taxation, affording a firm basis for all government securities, and insuring against financial disaster, as well as enactments required to carry out the policy of the Secretary of the Treasury, and to meet all pressing demands upon the national exchequer, received the proper attention. A desire to further the energetic exertions of the Government in preparing for the last grand struggle with rebellion was manifested in the action of both Houses in so marked a degree as to inspire the country with confidence in a speedy and favorable issue of the war.

The deliberations of Congress during the session possessed but little special interest or importance; the emergencies and requirements of the war, present and prospective, having been very fully provided for by its action at the previous session. Amendments were offered to the Conscription Bill, which, as finally passed, did not vary essentially from the original law. It gave rise, however, to considerable discussion as to the proper regulation of the mode of enlistment of colored men, free and slave, as soldiers. Both Houses finally agreed upon a proviso that colored troops, "while

they shall be credited in the quotas of the several States, or subdivisons of States, wherein they are respectively drafted, enlisted or shall volunteer, shall not be assigned as State troops, but shall be mustered into regiments or companies as 'United States Colored Volunteers.'" A growing conviction in the public mind, that the destruction of slavery was necessary to the successful prosecution of the war, and that the emancipation of the slaves would be the certain result of the war, was clearly indicated in the debates of Congress, as well as by the tone of the press. Early in February, a bill was reported in the House providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs, which should determine all questions relating to persons of African descent, and regulating their employment and proper treatment on abandoned plantations;—which, after a sharp debate was passed by a vote of sixty-nine to sixty-seven. A resolution was also adopted submitting to the action of the several States an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forever prohibiting the existence of slavery within the States and Territories of the Union—and was passed with but little opposition.

The argument of some of the border State Senators, that the interference of the people in any thing which State laws declare to be property, was a palpable violation of State rights, was promptly met by the Hon. Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, who held that the Constitution, when it was framed, might properly and unquestionably have embodied within it this prohibition of slavery, and that it was competent for the people to do now whatever they might have done then.

The payment of government bounties to volunteer

troops; questions connected with taxation and currency, and other necessary matters, which do not call for detailed mention in this work, occupied the attention of Congress, during the session. Considerable acrimonious debate arose from the controversy between General F. P. Blair, Jr., and other members of the Missouri delegation, in regard to his contested seat in Congress, which demanded much of Mr. Lincoln's patient consideration, and called forth several letters from his hand.

The relations of the country with foreign affairs continued as satisfactory, on the whole, as could be expected. An important point was gained, in the issuing of an order by the British government, forbidding the departure of the formidable rams which were building in English ports unquestionably for the rebel navy. Regarding this as practically giving to the rebels the freedom of British ports for the destruction of American commerce, our government sternly protested against such one-sided neutrality.

"It would be superfluous in me," wrote our Minister, Mr. Adams, "to point out to your lordship that this is war. No matter what may be the theory adopted of neutrality in a struggle, when this process is carried on in the manner indicated, from a territory and with the aid of the subjects of a third party, that third party to all intents and purposes ceases to be neutral. Neither is it necessary to show that any government which suffers it to be done, fails in enforcing the essential conditions of international amity towards the country against whom the hostility is directed. In my belief it is impossible that any nation, retaining a proper degree of self-respect, could tamely submit to a continuance of relations so utterly deficient in reciprocity. I have no idea that Great Britain would do so for a moment."

The remonstrance had the desired effect.

Our relations with France, also, continued to be friendly, but the proceedings of the French in Mexico gave color to the rumors which were freely circulated, that they were about to establish in that country, a monarchical form of government, under a European prince. The attitude of our government towards such a movement was, therefore, distinctly defined by Mr. Seward in his correspondence with our Minister at Paris, under date of September 26th, as follows:

"The United States hold, in regard to Mexico, the same principles as they hold in regard to all other nations. They have neither a right nor a disposition to intervene by force in the internal affairs of Mexico, whether to establish and maintain a republic, or even a domestic government, there, or to overthrow an imperial or a foreign one, if Mexico chooses to establish or accept it. The United States have neither the right nor the disposition to intervene by force on either side in the lamentable war which is going on between France and Mexico. On the contrary, they practise in regard to Mexico, in every phrase of that war, the non-intervention which they require all foreign powers to observe in regard to the United States. But notwithstanding this self-restraint, this government knows full well that the inherent normal opinion of Mexico favors a government there republican in form and domestic in its organization, in preference to any monarchical institutions to be imposed from abroad. This government knows also that this normal opinion of the people of Mexico resulted largely from the influence of popular opinion in this country, and is continually invigorated by it. The President believes, moreover, that this popular opinion of the United States is just in itself and eminently essential to the progress of civilization on the American continent, which civilization, it believes, can and will, if left free from European

resistance, work harmoniously together with advancing refinement on the other continents. This government believes that foreign resistance, or attempts to control American civilization, must and will fail before the ceaseless and ever increasing activity of material, moral and political forces, which peculiarly belong to the American continent. Nor do the United States deny that, in their opinion, their own safety and the cheerful destiny to which they aspire, are intimately dependent on the continuance of free republican institutions throughout America. They have submitted these opinions to the Emperor of France, on proper occasions, as worthy of his serious consideration, in determining how he would conduct and close what might prove a successful war in Mexico. Nor is it necessary to practice reserve upon the point that if France should, upon due consideration, determine to adopt a policy in Mexico adverse to the American opinion and sentiments which I have described, that policy would probably scatter seeds which would be fruitful of jealousies which might ultimately ripen into collision between France and the United States and other American republics."

On the 23d of October, Mr. Seward repeated the determination of our government to maintain complete neutrality in the war between France and Mexico, and while declaring that we could not anticipate the action of the people of Mexico, we had not "the least purpose or desire to interfere with their proceedings, or control or interfere with their free choice, or disturb them in the exercise of whatever institutions of government they may, in the exercise of an absolute freedom, establish." As we did not consider the war yet closed, however, we were not free to consider the recognition of the government which, in the further chances of that war, might take the place of the one now existing in

Mexico, and with which our relations were those of peace and friendship.

The policy of the President, therefore, in regard to the war in Mexico, was that of neutrality; and the settled sentiment of the people upon the subject was embodied, beyond all doubt, in the following resolution, passed by the House of Representatives, on the 3d of April, 1864.

"*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States are unwilling by silence to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the republic of Mexico; therefore, they think fit to declare that it does not accord with the sentiment of the people of the United States to acknowledge a monarchical government erected on the ruins of any republican government in America, under the auspices of any European power."

Having thus traced the political events of the year 1863, let us briefly glance at the military movements during the same period.

The first two years of the war had resulted, on the whole, in decided advantages to the national arms. Commencing their "Confederacy" with seven States, the conspirators against the national life had undertaken, by intrigue as well as by force of arms, to detach the remaining slaveholding States—the Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Arizona—from their allegiance to the government, and to add this immense region to the new southern nationality. General Canby's vigorous campaign in New Mexico, with the victory at Fort Craig, in 1862, drove the invaders back into Texas; and General Curtis' grand success at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, in

March of the same year, effectually demolished all hopes of any rebel acquisition in the Territories. The most determined efforts of rebellion to extend their boundary beyond the four slave States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, which had been swept into the secession movement at the very onset, proved abortive.

But, in spite of these efforts, the spring of 1863 found Arkansas substantially reclaimed; New Orleans, and a large portion of Louisiana restored to the government; the Mississippi river reconquered through almost its entire length; most of the western and middle parts of Tennessee occupied by Federal garrisons; the western half of Virginia reorganized under a loyal government, and much of eastern Virginia in the grasp of the Union arms; a permanent foothold gained on the coasts of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Florida; northern Alabama returning to sentiments of loyalty, under the supporting presence of government troops; a blockade, pressing heavily upon the rebellious States; and the power of slavery materially crippled by the effects of the Emancipation Proclamation, which deranged the productive interests of the rebellion, and added a new and increasing element of strength to our arms.

Vicksburg and Port Hudson were now positions of the utmost importance to the rebels, who were straining every nerve to hold their trans-Mississippi communications, inasmuch as the Red river country and Texas furnished their most abundant supplies. To sweep from their grasp even this last vestige of power in that region, became the object of General Grant's brief but energetic campaign; which, commencing with a series of

brilliant victories, terminated in the surrender of Vicksburg and thirty thousand prisoners, on the 4th of July, 1863. On the eighth, as a consequence partly of this success, Port Hudson, after a two months' siege, was also unconditionally surrendered, with its garrison of over six thousand men, to the combined forces of General Banks and Admiral Farragut; and the "Father of Waters" was once more open to the Gulf—thus cutting off the territory west of that river from its connection with the remainder of the Confederacy, being a practical loss of nearly one-half of the rebel territory.

In Eastern Virginia, the year 1863 had opened on the 20th of January by an attempted advance on the rebel army at Fredericksburg, by the army under General Burnside—which, however, failed, in consequence of a heavy storm so damaging the roads as to render it impossible to bring up artillery and pontoons with the promptness essential to success. On the twenty-fourth, General Burnside was relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and General Joseph Hooker appointed in his place. The season forbade any movement for three months, but on the 27th of April, General Hooker pushed his army forward with the design of attacking the enemy in flank and rear. The movement seemed to be a success until they reached Chancellorsville, a few miles southwest of Fredericksburg, where, on the 2d of May, they met the enemy, and, after an action which continued with varying success for three days, Hooker was compelled, on the 5th, to withdraw his army to the north bank of the Rappahannock—having lost not far from eighteen thousand men in the movement. The rebel loss was also

large, and in the death of General "Stonewall" Jackson their cause sustained a severe blow. The rebel General Lee now assumed the offensive, advancing through Maryland into Pennsylvania. This movement naturally created the most intense excitement throughout the country, and President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for one hundred thousand militia from the States most directly menaced, to serve for six months, and New York was summoned to send twenty thousand also.

General Hooker, however, moving on an interior line, covered Washington, and kept his forces in an attitude to strike the enemy with effect. During these movements, Hooker was superseded, on the 28th of June, by General George G. Meade, who at once ordered an advance into Pennsylvania in the general direction of Harrisburg, towards which the enemy was rapidly advancing. The two armies came in contact on the 1st of July, near the town of Gettysburg, and a three days' conflict ensued, in which an important victory was gained over Lee, who retreated in all possible haste over the Potomac, having lost heavily in killed, wounded and prisoners—the latter numbering thirteen thousand six hundred and twenty-one.

On the morning of the 4th of July, the day celebrated throughout the country as the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the President issued the following despatch:

"WASHINGTON, *July* 4—10.30, A. M.

"The President announces to the country, that news from the Army of the Potomac, to ten P. M. of the third, is such as to cover that army with the highest honor; to promise a

great success to the cause of the Union; and to claim the condolence of all for the many gallant fallen—and that, for this, he especially desires that on this day, He, whose will, not ours, should ever be done, be everywhere remembered, and reverenced with profoundest gratitude.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The result of this severe battle was of the utmost importance, inasmuch as it defeated the intended invasion of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and compelled the rebels to evacuate the upper part of the valley of the Shenandoah, leaving in our hands nearly fourteen thousand prisoners, and twenty-five thousand small arms collected on the battle-field. Our own losses were very severe, amounting to two thousand eight hundred and thirty-four killed, thirteen thousand seven hundred and nine wounded, and six thousand six hundred and forty-three missing—in all, twenty-three thousand one hundred and eighty-six.

During the ensuing season, a plot of ground adjoining the town cemetery, and forming an important part of the battle-field, was purchased by the State of Pennsylvania, to be used as a national burial-place for the loyal soldiers who fell in that great engagement. It was dedicated, with solemn and impressive ceremonies, on the 19th of November, 1863, the President and the members of his cabinet being in attendance; and a very large and imposing military display added a solemn grandeur to the ceremonies of the day. Hon. Edward Everett delivered an elaborate address, and President Lincoln made the following remarks:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and

dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now, we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain—that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom—and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

The almost simultaneous occurrence of the great victories of Vicksburg, Port Hudson and Gettysburg—undoubtedly constituting the most glorious and substantial celebration ever before accorded to our national holiday—called forth the most enthusiastic rejoicings in every section of the country. Public meetings were everywhere held, and the people, as with one voice, testified their joy, and their unflinching purpose to prosecute the war until the rebellion should be utterly extinguished.

A large concourse of the citizens of Washington visited the residence of the President, and, also, those of the members of his Cabinet—giving them each, in turn, the honors of a serenade—which the President acknowledged in the following remarks:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: I am very glad indeed to see you to-night, and yet I will not say I thank you, for this call; but I do most sincerely thank Almighty God for the occasion on which you have called. How long ago is it—eighty odd years—since, on the Fourth of July, for the first time in the history of the world, a nation, by its representatives, assembled and declared as a self-evident truth, "that all men are created equal?" That was the birthday of the United States of America. Since then the Fourth of July has had several very peculiar recognitions. The two men most distinguished in the framing and support of the Declaration were THOMAS JEFFERSON and JOHN ADAMS—the one having penned it, and the other sustained it the most forcibly in debate—the only two of the fifty-five who signed it, and were elected Presidents of the United States. Precisely fifty years after they put their hands to the paper, it pleased almighty God to take both from this stage of action. This was, indeed, an extraordinary and remarkable event in our history. Another President, five years after, was called from this stage of existence on the same day and month of the year; and now on this last Fourth of July, just passed, when we have a gigantic rebellion, at the bottom of which is an effort to overthrow the principle that all men were created equal, we have the surrender of a most powerful position and army on that very day. And not only so, but in a succession of battles in Pennsylvania, near to us, through three days, so rapidly fought that they might be called one great battle, on the first, second, and third of the month of July; and on the fourth, the cohorts of those who opposed the declaration that all men are created equal, 'turned tail' and run. [Long-continued

cheers.] Gentlemen, this is a glorious theme, and the occasion for a speech, but I am not prepared to make one worthy of the occasion. I would like to speak in terms of praise due to the many brave officers and soldiers, who have fought in the cause of the Union and liberties of their country from the beginning of the war. These are trying occasions, not only in success, but for the want of success. I dislike to mention the name of one single officer, lest I might do wrong to those I might forget. Recent events bring up glorious names, and particularly prominent ones; but these I will not mention. Having said this much, I will now take the music."

The President, a few days afterwards, wrote to General Grant the following letter, in which Mr. Lincoln's character for honesty and candor is agreeably displayed in the modest and unconscious garb of his own language:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *July* 13, 1863.

"MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT—My Dear General: I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I write to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition, and the like, could succeed. When you got below, and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks; and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment, that you were right and I was wrong. Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

These victories, together with others, achieved in other sections of the country, gave such strong grounds of encouragement and hope for the speedy overthrow of the rebellion, that, on the 15th of July, the President issued the following Proclamation for a day of national thanksgiving, praise and prayer:

"*By the President of the United States of America.*

"A PROCLAMATION.

"It has pleased Almighty God to hearken to the supplications and prayers of an afflicted people, and to vouchsafe to the army and the navy of the United States, on the land and on the sea, victories so signal and so effective as to furnish reasonable grounds for augmented confidence that the Union of these States will be maintained, their Constitution preserved, and their peace and prosperity permanently secured. But these victories have been accorded not without sacrifice of life, limb, and liberty, incurred by brave, patriotic, and loyal citizens. Domestic affliction, in every part of the country, follows in the train of these fearful bereavements. It is meet and right to recognize and confess the presence of the Almighty Father, and the power of His hand equally in these triumphs and these sorrows.

"Now, therefore, be it known, that I do set apart Thursday, the sixth day of August next, to be observed as a day for national thanksgiving, praise, and prayer; and I invite the people of the United States to assemble on that occasion in their customary places of worship, and, in the form approved by their own conscience, render the homage due to the Divine Majesty, for the wonderful things he has done in the nation's behalf, and invoke the influence of His Holy Spirit, to subdue the anger which has produced, and so long sustained, a needless and cruel rebellion; to change the hearts of the insurgents; to guide the counsels of the government with wisdom adequate

to so great a national emergency, and to visit with tender care and consolation, throughout the length and breadth of our land, all those who, through the vicissitudes of marches, voyages, battles, and sieges, have been brought to suffer in mind, body, or estate; and finally, to lead the whole nation through paths of repentance and submission to the Divine will, back to the perfect enjoyment of union and fraternal peace.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this fifteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight [L. S.] hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

This was followed, on the 17th of the same month, by a proclamation calling for three hundred thousand additional men, for a term of not less than three years.

In other portions of the field of war, our arms, during the year 1863, had achieved other victories of marked importance, which deserve mention.

The operations before Charleston and other points, although attended with less success than was, perhaps, expected, were not entirely without favorable results.

Disaster to the rebel cause followed the advance of General Rosecrans on Chattanooga, and of General Burnside upon Knoxville, in the latter part of August. With but little fighting, Burnside occupied Knoxville and Cumberland Gap, while Rosecrans, after the un-

favorable battle of Chickamauga, took possession of Chattanooga. By the latter part of September, East Tennessee was thus completely in our possession, and a line of communication of the greatest importance to the enemy was finally severed. On the 19th of October, General Grant, by the President's order, assumed command of the united armies of the Tennessee, the Cumberland and the Ohio; and the subsequent victories of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, on the 24th and 25th of November, as well as the decisive defeat of Longstreet in his attempt to recover Knoxville, made this great acquisition entirely secure. The way was thus fully prepared for assuming the offensive, by an advance into the heart of Georgia, and the rebellion seemed now to be trembling on the verge of final overthrow.

Upon receiving intelligence of these movements, the President issued the following recommendation:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., *Dec.* 7, 1863.

"Reliable information being received that the insurgent force is retreating from East Tennessee, under circumstances rendering it probable that the Union forces cannot hereafter be dislodged from that important position; and esteeming this to be of high national consequence, I recommend that all loyal people do, on receipt of this information, assemble at their places of worship, and render special homage and gratitude to Almighty God for this great advancement of the national cause.

"A. LINCOLN."

On the 3d of October, the President had issued the following proclamation, recommending the observance

of the last Thursday of November as a day of Thanksgiving:

"*By the President of the United States of America.*

"PROCLAMATION.

"The year that is drawing towards its close has been filled with the blessings of fruitful fields and healthful skies. To these bounties, which are so constantly enjoyed that we are prone to forget the source from which they come, others have been added which are of so extraordinary a nature that they cannot fail to penetrate and soften even the heart which is habitually insensible to the ever watchful providence of Almighty God. In the midst of a civil war of unequalled magnitude and severity, which has sometimes seemed to invite and provoke the aggressions of foreign States, peace has been preserved with all nations, order has been maintained, the laws have been respected and obeyed, and harmony has prevailed everywhere except in the theatre of military conflict, while that theatre has been greatly contracted by the advancing armies and navies of the Union. The needful diversion of wealth and strength from the fields of peaceful industry to the national defence, have not arrested the plough, the shuttle, or the ship. The axe has enlarged the borders of our settlements, and the mines, as well of iron and coal as of the precious metals, have yielded even more abundantly than heretofore. Population has steadily increased, notwithstanding the waste that has been made in the camp, the siege, and the battle-field; and the country, rejoicing in the consciousness of augmented strength and vigor, is permitted to expect a continuance of years, with large increase of freedom.

"No human counsel hath devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the Most High God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy.

"It has seemed to me fit and proper that they should be

solemnly, reverently, and gratefully acknowledged, as with one heart and voice, by the whole American people. I do, therefore, invite my fellow-citizens in every part of the United States, and also those who are at sea, and those who are sojourning in foreign lands, to set apart and observe the last Thursday of November next as a day of thanksgiving and prayer to our beneficent Father, who dwelleth in the heavens. And I recommend to them that, while offering up the ascriptions justly due to Him for such singular deliverances and blessings, they do also, with humble penitence for our national perverseness and disobedience, commend to his tender care all those who have become widows, orphans, mourners, or sufferers in the lamentable civil strife in which we are unavoidably engaged, and fervently implore the interposition of the Almighty hand to heal the wounds of the nation, and to restore it, as soon as may be consistent with the divine purposes, to the full enjoyment of peace, harmony, tranquility, and union.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this third day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [L. S.] sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

(Signed), "ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

Our history of the year would be quite incomplete without a brief statement of some of the events arising from arbitrary arrests by the government, and from the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act; events which, as connected with some of the most important of Mr. Lincoln's State papers, claim our attention somewhat in detail. It will be remembered that at the very outbreak of the rebellion, the government had been confronted

by one of the most formidable evils which embarrassed its action, in the fact that the rebels were aided and abetted by the active co-operation of men in the northern States, whose political sympathies and affiliations had always been in unison with their own. No New Yorker, at least, can ever forget without a burning sense of humiliation, the favoring apology sent by Fernando Wood, then Mayor of New York, to Senator Toombs, of Georgia, for the seizure, by the city police, of arms in process of shipment to the State of Georgia; nor his assurance that "if he had the power, he should summarily punish the authors of this illegal and unjustifiable seizure of private property." As we have already stated, in a previous chapter, all the departments of State at Washington and elsewhere, as well as the army and navy, were found to be filled with a large proportion of those who actively sympathized with the secession movement, and were always prompt to render it every possible aid and comfort. It was this thorough infiltration of the traitorous element throughout every branch of the civil and military departments which, at first, so constantly betrayed the government and thwarted its plans. Under cover of opposition to the administration, many prominent newspapers and politicians insiduously began to undermine the strength of the government, and to paralyze its efforts for the suppression of the rebellion.

Under these circumstances, resort was necessarily had by government to one of those extraordinary powers vested in it by the Constitution, in case of extraordinary emergencies, viz., the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. The question was not so much as the justifi-

ability of the measure in the present case, as it was upon which department of the government the responsibility of the act should rest. If the act was one of legislation, it could only be performed by Congress and the President; if, in its nature executive, then it might be performed, the emergency requiring it, by the President alone. In this case, however, the pressing emergency of public affairs cut the Gordian knot of doubt. Congress had adjourned on the 4th of March preceding, and could not well be assembled again in time. Time was precious, for delay invited further plotting and mischievous combinations between the rebels and their northern coadjutors.

Influenced by these considerations, the President issued his proclamation of May 3d, 1861, authorizing the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* by the commander of the United States forces upon the Florida coast. This was followed necessarily by the exercise of the same power in other parts of the country. These acts of the government were, of course, violently assailed by its opponents, and some of the public prints of the day indulged in such intemperate abuse on the subject that they were refused the privilege of the public mails, and stringent restrictions were also placed upon the transmission of telegraphic intelligence. Early in July, 1862, Attorney-General Black furnished the President, at his request, with an elaborate opinion in regard to the power of the Executive to make arrests of the persons of aiders and abettors of the rebellion, and upon his right to refuse to obey a writ of *habeas corpus* in case of such arrests. His opinion was favorable to the government, which thenceforth exerted, with vigor and

energy, all the power thus placed in its hands to prevent the rebellion from receiving aid from northern sympathizers. A large number of persons were placed under arrest, but were subsequently released upon taking an oath of allegiance to the United States. Baltimore, continuing to be for some time the headquarters of conspiracies and movements of various kinds in aid of the rebellion, the arrests were consequently more numerous there than elsewhere.

On the 16th of September, nine secession members of the House of Delegates of Maryland, with the officers of both houses, were arrested by General McClellan, then in command of the army, and its anticipated session on the 17th was thus broken up.

The President, at the time, made the following statement of his views in regard to these arrests:

"The public safety renders it necessary that the grounds of these arrests should at present be withheld, but at the proper time they will be made public. Of one thing the people of Maryland may rest assured, that no arrest has been made, or will be made, not based on substantial and unmistakable complicity with those in armed rebellion against the government of the United States. In no case has an arrest been made on mere suspicion, or through personal or partisan animosities, but in all cases the government is in possession of tangible and unmistakable evidence, which will, when made public, be satisfactory to every loyal citizen."

Arrests continued to be made under authority of the State Department, not without complaint, certainly, but with the general acquiescence of the whole community, and to the undoubted advantage of the govern-

ment and the country. On the 14th of February, 1862, control of the whole matter was transferred to the War Department. The circumstances which had made these arrests necessary are stated with so much clearness and force in the official order, that we insert it at length, as follows:

EXECUTIVE ORDERS IN RELATION TO STATE PRISONERS.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 14.

"The breaking out of a formidable insurrection, based on a conflict of political ideas, being an event without precedent in the United States, was necessarily attended by great confusion and perplexity of the public mind. Disloyalty, before unsuspected, suddenly became bold, and treason astonished the world by bringing at once into the field military forces superior in numbers to the standing army of the United States.

"Every department of the government was paralyzed by treason. Defection appeared in the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the Cabinet, in the federal courts; ministers and consuls returned from foreign countries to enter the insurrectionary councils, or land or naval forces; commanding and other officers of the army and in the navy betrayed the councils or deserted their posts for commands in the insurgent forces. Treason was flagrant in the revenue and in the post office service, as well as in the territorial governments and in the Indian reserves.

"Not only Governors, Judges, Legislators and ministerial officers in the States, but even whole States, rushed, one after another, with apparent unanimity, into rebellion. The capital was besieged and its connection with all the States cut off.

"Even in the portions of the country which were most loyal, political combinations and secret societies were formed furthering the work of disunion, while, from motives of disloyalty or cupidity, or from excited passions or perverted sympathies,

individuals were found furnishing men, money, and materials of war and supplies to the insurgents' military and naval forces. Armies, ships, fortifications, navy yards, arsenals, military posts and garrisons, one after another, were betrayed or abandoned to the insurgents.

"Congress had not anticipated, and so had not provided for the emergency. The municipal authorities were powerless and inactive. The judicial machinery seemed as if it had been designed not to sustain the government, but to embarrass and betray it.

"Foreign intervention, openly invited and industriously instigated by the abettors of the insurrection, became imminent, and has only been prevented by the practice of strict and impartial justice with the most perfect moderation in our intercourse with nations.

"The public mind was alarmed and apprehensive, though fortunately not distracted or disheartened. It seemed to be doubtful whether the Federal government, which one year before had been thought a model worthy of universal acceptance, had indeed the ability to defend and maintain itself.

"Some reverses, which perhaps were unavoidable, suffered by newly levied and inefficient forces, discouraged the loyal, and gave new hopes to the insurgents. Voluntary enlistments seemed about to cease, and desertions commenced. Parties speculated upon the question whether conscription had not become necessary to fill up the armies of the United States.

"In this emergency the President felt it his duty to employ with energy the extraordinary powers which the Constitution confides to him in cases of insurrection. He called into the field such military and naval forces, unauthorized by the existing laws, as seemed necessary. He directed measures to prevent the use of the Post Office for treasonable correspondence. He subjected passengers to and from foreign countries to new passport regulations, and he instituted a blockade, suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* in various places, and caused persons

who were represented to him as being or about to engage in disloyal and treasonable practices to be arrested by special civil as well as military agencies, and detained in military custody, when necessary, to prevent them and deter others from such practices. Examinations of such cases were instituted, and some of the persons so arrested have been discharged from time to time, under circumstances or upon conditions compatible, as was thought, with the public safety.

"Meantime a favorable change of public opinion has occurred. The line between loyalty and disloyalty is plainly defined; the whole structure of the government is firm and stable; apprehensions of public danger and facilities for treasonable practices have diminished with the passions which prompted heedless persons to adopt them. The insurrection is believed to have culminated and to be declining.

"The President, in view of these facts, and anxious to favor a return to the normal course of the administration, as far as regard for the public welfare will allow, directs that all political prisoners or State prisoners, now held in military custody, be released on their subscribing to a parole engaging them to render no aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the United States.

"The Secretary of War will, however, at his discretion, except from the effect of this order any persons detained as spies in the service of the insurgents, or others whose release at the present moment may be deemed incompatible with the public safety.

"To all persons who shall be so released, and who shall keep their parole, the President grants an amnesty for any past offences of treason or disloyalty which they may have committed.

"Extraordinary arrests will hereafter be made under the direction of the military authorities alone.

"By order of the President:

"EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*"

Wherever the public safety seemed to require it, arrests continued to be made—the President, in every instance, assuming all the responsibility of these acts, and throwing himself upon the courts and the judgment of the country for his vindication. The President himself, however, had not, up to this time, directed any general suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, or given any public notice of the rules by which the government would be guided in its action upon cases that might arise; it being left to the Secretary of War to decide in what instances and for what causes arrests should be made and the privilege of the writ should be suspended. Some of the courts into which these cases were brought, had ruled that, although the President had authority under the Constitution to suspend the writ, he could not delegate that authority to any subordinate. To meet this case, therefore, the President, on the 24th of September, 1862, issued the following

"PROCLAMATION.

"*Whereas*, it has been necessary to call into service, not only volunteers, but also portions of the militia of the States by draft, in order to suppress the insurrection existing in the United States, and disloyal persons are not adequately restrained by the ordinary processes of law from hindering this measure, and from giving aid and comfort in various ways to the insurrection.

"Now, therefore, be it ordered—

"*First*, That during the existing insurrection, and as a necessary measure for suppressing the same, all rebels and insurgents, their aiders and abettors, within the United States, and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting military drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice affording aid and comfort to

the rebels against the authority of the United States, shall be subject to martial law, and liable to trial and punishment by courts-martial or military commission.

"*Second*, That the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended in respect to all persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter during the rebellion shall be, imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal, military prison, or other place of confinement, by any military authority, or by the sentence of any court-martial or military commission.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight [L. S.] hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

This was accompanied by orders from the War Department appointing a Provost Marshal-General, whose headquarters were to be at Washington, with special provost-marshals, one or more, in each State, charged with the duty of arresting deserters and disloyal persons, and of inquiring into treasonable practices throughout the country.

During the following winter, Congress enacted a law, sanctioning the action of the President in suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, and giving him full authority to check and punish all attempts to defeat the efforts of the government in the prosecution of the war. After the adjournment, however, party agitation was again revived, and public meetings were held denouncing the conduct of the government, and protesting against the

further prosecution of the war. One of the most active of these advocates of peace with the rebel confederacy was Hon. C. L. Vallandigham, a member of Congress from Ohio, who after the adjournment made a political canvass of his district, in the course of which, in a speech at Mount Vernon, on the 1st of May, he denounced the government at Washington as aiming, in its conduct of the war, not to restore the Union, but to crush out liberty and establish a despotism: declaring that the war was waged for the freedom of the blacks and the enslaving of the whites, that the government could have had peace long before if it had really desired it, that the mediation of France should have been accepted, and that the government had deliberately rejected propositions by which the Southern States could have been brought back into the Union. He also denounced order No. 38, issued by General Burnside, in command of the Department, forbidding certain disloyal practices, and giving notice that persons declaring sympathy for the enemy would be arrested for trial; proclaimed his intention to disobey it, and appealed to his hearers to resist and defeat its execution.

For this speech Mr. Vallandigham was very properly arrested, by order of General Burnside, on the 4th of May, and ordered for trial before a court-martial at Cincinnati. His application on the 5th, for a writ of *habeas corpus*, was heard before the Circuit Court of the United States, which decided adversely to him. Having, therefore, been tried by the military commission, he was sentenced to close confinement at Fort Warren, in Boston harbor. The President, however, modified this sentence by directing that he should be sent within the

rebel lines, and should not return to the United States until after the close of the war—and the sentence was at once carried into execution. This arrest, trial and sentence, of course, created great excitement throughout the country. By the opponents of the administration, Mr. Vallandigham was treated as a martyr, and public meetings were held at which the action of the government was characterized as tyrannical and dangerous to the public liberties. One of these demonstrations was held at Albany, on the 16th of May, to which Governor Seymour addressed a letter, in which he said, referring to the arrest of Vallandigham, "If this proceeding is approved by the government, and sanctioned by the people, it is not merely a step toward revloution,—it is revolution. It will not only lead to military despotism, —it establishes military despotism. In this aspect it must be accepted, or in this aspect rejected. * * The people of this country now wait with the deepest anxiety the decision of the administration upon these acts. Having given it a generous support in the conduct of the war, we pause to see what kind of a government it is for which we are asked to pour out our blood and our treasure. The action of the administration will determine, in the minds of more than one-half of the people of the loyal States, whether this war is waged to put down rebellion at the South, or destroy free institutions at the North." The resolutions adopted at this meeting, while pledging the Democratic party of the State to the preservation of the Union, condemned in the strongest terms the whole system of arbitrary arrests, and the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

A copy of these resolutions was forwarded by the presiding officer to President LINCOLN, who sent the following letter in reply:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *June* 13, 1863.

"HON. ERASTUS CORNING AND OTHERS:

"*Gentlemen*: Your letter of May 19, inclosing the resolutions of a public meeting held at Albany, N. Y., on the 16th of the same month, was received several days ago.

"The resolutions, as I understand them, are resolvable into two propositions—first, the expression of a purpose to sustain the cause of the Union, to secure peace through victory, and to support the administration in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and, secondly, a declaration of censure upon the administration for supposed unconstitutional action, such as the making of military arrests. And from the two propositions a third is deduced, which is, that the gentlemen composing the meeting are resolved on doing their part to maintain our common government and country, despite the folly or wickedness, as they may conceive, of any administration. This proposition is eminently patriotic, and as such I thank the meeting and congratulate the nation for it. My own purpose is the same, so that the meeting and myself have a common object, and can have no difference, except in the choice of means or measures for effecting that object.

"And here I ought to close this paper, and would close it, if there were no apprehensions that more injurious consequences than any merely personal to myself might follow the censures systematically cast upon me for doing what, in my view of duty, I could not forbear. The resolutions promise to support me in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion, and I have not knowingly employed, nor shall knowingly employ, any other. But the meeting, by these resolutions, assert and argue that certain military arrests, and proceedings following them, for which I am ultimately responsible,

are unconstitutional. I think they are not. The resolutions quote from the Constitution the definition of treason, and also the limiting safeguards and guarantees therein provided for the citizen on trial for treason, and on his being held to answer for capital, or otherwise infamous crimes, and, in criminal prosecutions, his right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury. They proceed to resolve, 'that the safeguards of the rights of citizens against the pretensions of arbitrary power were intended more *especially* for his protection in times of civil commotion.'

"And apparently to demonstrate the proposition, the resolutions proceed: 'They were secured substantially to the English people *after* years of protracted civil war, and were adopted into our Constitution at the *close* of the revolution.' Would not the demonstration have been better if it could have been truly said that these safeguards had been adopted and applied *during* the civil wars and *during* our Revolution, instead of *after* the one and at the *close* of the other? I, too, am devoutedly for them *after* civil war, and *before* civil war, and at all times, 'except when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require' their suspension. The resolutions proceed to tell us that these safeguards 'have stood the test of seventy-six years of trial, under our republican system, under circumstances, which show that, while they constitute the foundation of all free government, they are the elements of the enduring stability of the Republic.' No one denies that they have so stood the test up to the beginning of the present rebellion, if we except a certain occurrence at New Orleans; nor does any one question that they will stand the same test much longer after the rebellion closes. But these provisions of the Constitution have no application to the case we have in hand, because the arrests complained of were not made for treason—that is, not for *the* treason defined in the Constitution, and upon conviction of which the punishment is death—nor yet were they made to hold persons to answer for any capital or otherwise in-

famous crimes; nor were the proceedings following, in any constitutional or legal sense, 'criminal prosecutions.' The arrests were made on totally different grounds, and the proceedings following accorded with the grounds of the arrest. Let us consider the real case with which we are dealing, and apply to it the parts of the Constitution plainly made for such cases.

"Prior to my installation here, it had been inculcated that any State had a lawful right to secede from the national Union, and that it would be expedient to exercise the right whenever the devotees of the doctrine should fail to elect a President to their own liking. I was elected contrary to their liking, and, accordingly, so far as it was legally possible, they had taken seven States out of the Union, had seized many of the United States forts, and had fired upon the United States flag, all before I was inaugurated, and, of course, before I had done any official act whatever. The rebellion thus began soon ran into the present civil war; and, in certain respects, it began on very unequal terms between the parties. The insurgents had been preparing for it more than thirty years, while the Govern ment had taken no steps to resist them. The former had carefully considered all the means which could be turned to their account. It undoubtedly was a well-pondered reliance with them that, in their own unrestricted efforts to destroy Union, Constitution, and the law altogether, the government would, in a great degree, be restrained by the same Constitution and law from arresting their progress. Their sympathizers pervaded all departments of the government, and nearly all communities of the people. From this material, under cover of 'liberty of speech,' 'liberty of the press,' and 'habeas corpus,' they hoped to keep on foot amoungst us a most efficient corps of spies, informers, suppliers, and aiders and abettors of their cause in a thousand ways. They knew that in times such as they were inaugurating, by the Constitution itself, the 'habeas corpus' might be suspended; but they also knew they had friends who would make a question as to *who* was to suspend it: meanwhile

their spies and others might remain at large to help on their cause. Or if, as has happened, the Executive should suspend the writ, without ruinous waste of time, instances of arresting innocent persons might occur, as are always likely to occur in such cases, and then a clamor could be raised in regard to this which might be, at least, of some service to the insurgent cause. It needed no very keen perception to discover this part of the enemy's programme, as soon as, by open hostilities, their machinery was put fairly in motion. Yet, thoroughly imbued with a reverence for the guaranteed rights of individuals, I was slow to adopt the strong measures which by degrees I have been forced to regard as being within the exceptions of the Constitution, and as indispensable to the public safety. Nothing is better known to history than that courts of justice are utterly incompetent to such cases. Civil courts are organized chiefly for trials of individuals, or, at most, a few individuals acting in concert, and this in quiet times, and on charges of crime well defined in the law. Even in times of peace, bands of horse-thieves and robbers frequently grow too numerous and powerful for the ordinary courts of justice. But what comparison, in numbers, have such bands ever borne to the insurgent sympathizers even in many of the loyal States? Again, a jury too frequently has at least one member more ready to hang the panel than to hang the traitor. And yet, again, he who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as to kill a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be no defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.

'Ours is a case of rebellion—so called by the resolutions before me—in fact, a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of rebellion; and the provision of the Constitution that 'the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it,' is *the* provision which specially applies to our present case. This provision plainly attests the understanding of those

who made the Constitution, that ordinary courts of justice are inadequate to 'cases of rebellion'—attests their purpose that, in such cases, men may be held in custody whom the courts, acting on ordinary rules, would discharge. *Habeas corpus* does not discharge men who are proved to be guilty of defined crime; and its suspension is allowed by the Constitution on purpose that men may be arrested and held who cannot be proved to be guilty of defined crime, 'when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.' This is precisely our case—a case of rebellion, wherein the public safety *does* require the suspension. Indeed, arrests by process of courts, and arrests in cases of rebellion, do not proceed altogether upon the same basis. The former is directed at the small percentage of ordinary and continuous perpetration of crime; while the latter is directed at sudden and extensive uprising against the government, which at most will succeed or fail in no great length of time. In the latter case arrests are made, not so much for what has been done as for what probably would be done. The latter is more for the preventive and less for the vindicative than the former. In such cases the purposes of men are much more easily understood than in cases of ordinary crime. The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his government is discussed, cannot be misunderstood. If not hindered, he is sure to help the enemy; much more, if he talks ambiguously—talks for his country with 'buts,' and 'if's' and 'ands.' Of how little value the constitutional provisions I have quoted will be rendered, if arrests shall never be made until defined crimes shall have been committed, may be illustrated by a few notable examples. General John C. Breckinridge, General Robert E. Lee, General Joseph E. Johnston, General John B. Magruder, General William B. Preston, General Simon B. Buckner, and Commodore Franklin Buchanan, now occupying the very highest places in the rebel war service, were all within the power of the government since the rebellion began, and were nearly as well known to be traitors

then as now. Unquestionably, if we had seized and held them, the insurgent's cause would be much weaker. But no one of them had then committed any crime defined in the law. Every one of them, if arrested, would have been discharged on *habeas corpus*, were the writ allowed to operate. In view of these and similar cases, I think the time not unlikely to come when I shall be blamed for having made too few arrests rather than too many.

"By the third resolution, the meeting indicate their opinion that military arrests may be constitutional in localities where rebellion actually exists, but that such arrests are unconstitutional in localities where rebellion or insurrection does *not* actually exist. They insist that such arrests shall not be made 'outside of the lines of necessary military occupation and the scenes of insurrection.' Inasmuch, however, as the Constitution itself makes no such distinction, I am unable to believe that there *is* any such constitutional distinction. I concede that the class of arrests complained of can be constitutional only when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require them; and I insist that in such cases they are constitutional *wherever* the public safety does require them; as well in places to which they may prevent the rebellion extending as in those where it may be already prevailing; as well where they may restrain mischievous interference with the raising and supplying of armies to suppress the rebellion, as where the rebellion may actually be; as well where they may restrain the enticing men out of the army, as where they would prevent mutiny in the army; equally constitutional at all places where they will conduce to the public safety, as against the dangers of rebellion or invasion. Take the particular case mentioned by the meeting. It is asserted, in substance, that Mr. Vallandigham was, by a military commander, seized and tried 'for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting, in criticism of the course of the Administration, and in condemnation of the military orders of the General.' Now, if there be no

mistake about this; if this assertion is the truth, and the whole truth; if there was no other reason for the arrest; then, I concede that the arrest was wrong. But the arrest, as I understand, was made for a very different reason. Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops; to encourage desertions from the army; and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the Administration, or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. He was warring upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandigham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonably satisfactory evidence.

"I understand the meeting, whose resolutions I am considering, to be in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force by armies. Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertions shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier-boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father, or brother, or friend, into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings till he is persuaded to write the soldier-boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that, in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy, is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

"If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my

error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in the absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does *not* require them; in other words, that the Constitution is not, in its application, in all respects the same, in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in time of profound peace and public security. The Constitution itself makes the distinction; and I can no more be persuaded that the government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man, because it can be shown not to be good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting that the American people will, by means of military arrests during the rebellion, lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and *habeas corpus*, throughout the indefinite peaceful future, which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.

"In giving the resolutions that earnest consideration which you request of me, I cannot overlook the fact that the meeting speak as 'Democrats.' Nor can I, with full respect for their known intelligence, and the fairly presumed deliberation with which they prepared their resolutions, be permitted to suppose that this occurred by accident, or in any way other than that they preferred to designate themselves 'Democrats' rather than 'American citizens.' In this time of national peril, I would have preferred to meet you on a level one step higher than any party platform; because I am sure that, from such more elevated position, we could do better battle for the country we all love than we possibly can from those lower ones where, from

the force of habit, the prejudices of the past, and selfish hopes of the future, we are sure to expend much of our ingenuity and strength in finding fault with and aiming blows at each other. But, since you have denied me this, I will yet be thankful, for the country's sake, that not all Democrats have done so. He, on whose discretionary judgment Mr. Vallandigham was arrested and tried, is a Democrat, having no old party affinity with me; and the judge who rejected the constitutional view expressed in these resolutions, by refusing to discharge Mr. Vallandigham on *habeas corpus*, is a Democrat of better days than these, having received his judicial mantle at the hands of President Jackson. And still more, of all those Democrats who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battle-field, I have learned that many approve the course taken with Mr. Vallandigham, while I have not heard of a single one condemning it. I cannot assert that there are none such. And the name of Jackson recalls an incident of pertinent history:—After the battle of New Orleans, and while the fact that the treaty of peace had been concluded was well known in the city, but before official knowledge of it had arrived, General Jackson still maintained martial or military law. Now that it could be said the war was over, the clamor against martial law, which had existed from the first, grew more furious. Among other things, a Mr. Louiallier published a denunciatory newspaper article. General Jackson arrested him. A lawyer by the name of Morrel procured the United States Judge Hall to issue a writ of *habeas corpus* to relieve Mr. Louiallier. General Jackson arrested both the lawyer and the judge. A Mr. Hollander ventured to say of some part of the matter that "it was a dirty trick." General Jackson arrested him. When the officer undertook to serve the writ of *habeas corpus*, General Jackson took it from him, and sent him away with a copy. Holding the judge in custody a few days, the General sent him beyond the limits of his encampment, and set him at liberty, with an order to remain till the ratification of peace should be regularly an-

nounced, or until the British should have left the Southern coast. A day or two more elapsed, the ratification of a treaty of peace was regularly announced, and the judge and others were fully liberated. A few days more, and the judge called General Jackson into court and fined him one thousand dollars for having arrested him and the others named. The General paid the fine, and there the matter rested for nearly thirty years, when Congress refunded principal and interest. The late Senator Douglas, then in the House of Representatives, took a leading part in the debates, in which the constitutional question was much discussed. I am not prepared to say whom the journals would show to have voted for the measure.

"It may be remarked: First, that we had the same Constitution then as now; second, that we then had a case of invasion, and now we have a case of rebellion; and, thirdly, that the permanent right of the people to public discussion, the liberty of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, the law of evidence, and the *habeas corpus*, suffered no detriment whatever by that conduct of General Jackson, or its subsequent approval by the American Congress.

"And yet, let me say that, in my own discretion, I do not know whether I would have ordered the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. While I cannot shift the responsibility from myself, I hold that, as a general rule, the commander in the field is the better judge of the necessity in any particular case. Of course, I must practice a general directory and revisory power in the matter.

"One of the resolutions expresses the opinion of the meeting that arbitrary arrests will have the effect to divide and distract those who should be united in suppressing the rebellion, and I am specifically called on to discharge Mr. Vallandigham. I regard this as, at least, a fair appeal to me on the expediency of exercising a constitutional power which I think exists. In response to such appeal, I have to say, it gave me pain when I learned that Mr. Vallandigham had been arrested—that is, I

was pained that there should have seemed to be a necessity for arresting him—and that it will afford me great pleasure to discharge him so soon as I can, by any means, believe the public safety will not suffer by it. I further say that, as the war progresses, it appears to me, opinion and action which were in great confusion at first, take shape and fall into more regular channels, so that the necessity for strong dealing with them gradually decreases. I have every reason to desire that it should cease altogether; and far from the least is my regard for the opinions and wishes of those who, like the meeting at Albany, declare their purpose to sustain the government in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion. Still, I must continue to do so much as may seem to be required by the public safety. "A. LINCOLN."

Similar meetings were held in other cities and towns of the North, and, on the 11th of June, at a State Convention of the Democratic party, held at Columbus, Ohio, for the nomination of State officers, Mr. Vallandigham was made the Democratic candidate for governor, receiving, on the first ballot, four hundred and forty-eight votes out of four hundred and sixty-one, the whole number cast. Resolutions were adopted protesting against the Emancipation Proclamation; condemning martial law in loyal States, where war does not exist; denouncing the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus;* protesting very strongly against the banishment of Vallandigham, and calling on the President to restore him to his rights; declaring that they would hail with delight the desire of the seceded States to return to their allegiance, and that they would co-operate with the citizens of those States in measures for the restoration of peace

A committe, on the 26th of June, presented to the President the resolutions adopted by the Convention, and urged the immediate recall and restoration of Mr. Vallandigham, their candidate for governor. To this President LINCOLN made the following reply:

"WASHINGTON, *June* 29, 1863.

"GENTLEMEN:—The resolutions of the Ohio Democratic State Convention, which you present me, together with your introductory and closing remarks, being in position and argument mainly the same as the resolutions of the Democratic meeting at Albany, New York, I refer you to my response to the latter as meeting most of the points in the former.

"This response you evidently used in preparing your remarks, and I desire no more than that it be used with accuracy. In a single reading of your remarks, I only discovered one inaccuracy in matter which I suppose you took from that paper. It is where you say, 'The undersigned are unable to agree with you in the opinion you have expressed that the Constitution is different in time of insurrection or invasion from what it is in time of peace and public security.'

"A recurrence to the paper will show you that I have not expressed the opinion you suppose. I expressed the opinion that the Constitution is different *in its application* in cases of rebellion or invasion, involving the public safety, from what it is in times of profound peace and public security; and this opinion I adhere to, simply because, by the Constitution itself, things may be done in the one case which may not be done in the other.

"I dislike to waste a word on a merely personal point, but I must respectfully assure you that you will find yourselves at fault should you ever seek for evidence to prove your assumption that I 'opposed in discussions before the people the policy of the Mexican war.'

"You say, 'Expunge from the Constitution this limitation

upon the power of Congress to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and yet the other guarantees of personal liberty would remain unchanged.' Doubtless if this clause of the Constitution improperly called, as I think, a limitation upon the power of Congress, were expunged, the other guarantees would remain the same; but the question is, not how those guarantees would stand with that clause *out* of the Constitution, but how they stand with that clause remaining in it, in case of rebellion or invasion, involving the public safety. If the liberty could be indulged in expunging that clause, letter and spirit, I really think the constitutional argument would be with you.

"My general view on this question was stated in the Albany response, and hence I do not state it now. I only add, that, as seems to me, the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* is the great means through which the guarantees of personal liberty are conserved and made available in the last resort; and corroborative of this view, is the fact that Mr. Vallandigham in the very case in question, under the advice of able lawyers, saw not where else to go but to the *habeas corpus*. But by the Constitution the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* itself may be suspended, when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

"You ask, in substance, whether I really claim that I may override all the guaranteed rights of individuals, on the plea of conserving the public safety—when I may choose to say the public safety requires it. This question, divested of the phraseology calculated to represent me as struggling for an arbitrary personal prerogative, is either simply a question *who* shall decide, or an affirmation that *nobody* shall decide, what the public safety does require in cases of rebellion or invasion. The Constitution contemplates the question as likely to occur for decision, but it does not expressly declare who is to decide it. By necessary implication, when rebellion or invasion comes, the decision is to be made from time to time; and I think the man whom, for the time, the people have, under the Constitu-

tion, made the commander-in-chief of their army and navy, is the man who holds the power and bears the responsibility of making it. If he uses the power justly, the same people will probably justify him; if he abuses it, he is in their hands to be dealt with by all the modes they have reserved to themselves in the Constitution.

"The earnestness with which you insist that persons can only, in times of rebellion, be lawfully dealt with in accordance with the rules for criminal trials and punishments in times of peace, induces me to add a word to what I said on that point in the Albany response. You claim that men may, if they choose, embarrass those whose duty it is to combat a giant rebellion, and then be dealt with only in turn as if there were no rebellion. The Constitution itself rejects this view. The military arrests and detentions which have been made, including those of Mr. Vallandigham, which are not different in principle from the other, have been for *prevention*, and not for *punishment*—as injunctions to stay injury, as proceedings to keep the peace—and hence, like proceedings in such cases, and for like reasons, they have not been accompanied with indictments, or trial by juries, nor in a single case by any punishment whatever beyond what is purely incidental to the prevention. The original sentence of imprisonment in Mr. Vallandigham's case was to prevent injury to the military service only, and the modification of it was made as a less disagreeable mode to him of securing the same prevention.

"I am unable to perceive an insult to Ohio in the case of Mr. Vallandigham. Quite surely nothing of this sort was or is intended. I was wholly unaware that Mr. Vallandigham was, at the time of his arrest, a candidate for the Democratic nomination of Governor, until so informed by your reading to me the resolutions of the Convention. I am grateful to the State of Ohio for many things, especially for the brave soldiers and officers she has given in the present national trial to the armies of the Union.

"You claim, as I understand, that according to my own position in the Albany response, Mr. Vallandigham should be released; and this because, as you claim, he has not damaged the military service by discouraging enlistments, encouraging desertions, or otherwise; and that if he had, he should have been turned over to the civil authorities under the recent acts of Congress. I certainly do not *know* that Mr. Vallandigham has specifically and by direct language advised against enlistments, and in favor of desertions and resistance to drafting. We all know that combinations, armed in some instances, to resist the arrest of deserters, began several months ago; that more recently the like has appeared in resistance to the enrolment preparatory to a draft; and that quite a number of assassinations have occurred from the same animus. These had to be met by military force, and this again has led to bloodshed and death. And now, under a sense of responsibility more weighty and enduring than any which is merely official, I solemnly declare my belief that this hindrance of the military, including maiming and murder, is due to the cause in which Mr. Vallandigham has been engaged, in a greater degree than to any other cause; and it is due to him personally in a greater degree than to any other man.

"These things have been notorious, known to all, and of course known to Mr. Vallandigham. Perhaps I would not be wrong to say they originated with his especial friends and adherents. With perfect knowledge of them he has frequently, if not constantly, made speeches in Congress and before popular assemblies; and if it can be shown that, with these things staring him in the face, he has ever uttered a word of rebuke or counsel against them, it will be a fact greatly in his favor with me, and of which, as yet, I am totally ignorant. When it is known that the whole burden of his speeches has been to stir up men against the prosecution of the war, and that in the midst of resistance to it he has not been known in any instance to counsel against resistance, it is next to impossible to repel the inference that he has counselled directly in favor of it.

"With all this before their eyes, the convention you represent have nominated Mr. Vallandigham for Governor of Ohio, and both they and you have declared the purpose to sustain the national Union by all constitutional means, but, of course, they and you, in common, reserve to yourselves to decide what are constitutional means, and, unlike the Albany meeting, you omit to state or intimate that, in your opinion, an army is a constitutional means of saving the Union against a rebellion, or even to intimate that you are conscious of an existing rebellion being in progress with the avowed object of destroying that very Union. At the same time, your nominee for governor, in whose behalf you appeal, is known to you, and to the world, to declare against the use of an army to suppress the rebellion. Your own attitude, therefore, encourages desertion, resistance to the draft, and the like, because it teaches those who incline to desert and to escape the draft, to believe it is your purpose to protect them, and to hope that you will become strong enough to do so.

"After a short personal intercourse with you, gentlemen of the committee, I cannot say I think you desire this effect to follow your attitude; but I assure you that both friends and enemies of the Union look upon it in this light. It is a substantial hope, and by consequence, a real strength to the enemy. If it is a false hope, and one which you would willingly dispel, I will make the way exceedingly easy. I send you duplicates of this letter, in order that you, or a majority, may, if you choose, indorse your names upon one of them, and return it thus indorsed to me, with the understanding that those signing are thereby committed to the following propositions, and to nothing else·

"1. That there is now rebellion in the United States, the object and tendency of which is to destroy the national Union; and that, in your opinion, an army and navy are constitutional means for suppressing that rebellion.

"2. That no one of you will do any thing which, in his own

judgment, will tend to hinder the increase, or favor the decrease, or lessen the efficiency of the army and navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress that rebellion; and—

"3. That each of you will, in his sphere, do all he can to have the officers, soldiers, and seamen of the army and navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion, paid, fed, clad, and otherwise well provided for and supported.

"And with the further understanding that upon receiving the letter and names thus indorsed, I will cause them to be published, which publication shall be, within itself, a revocation of the order in relation to Mr. Vallandigham.

"It will not escape observation that I consent to the release of Mr. Vallandigham upon terms not embracing any pledge from him or from others as to what he will or will not do. I do this because he is not present to speak for himself, or to authorize others to speak for him; and hence I shall expect that on returning he would not put himself practically in antagonism with the position of his friends. But I do it chiefly because I thereby prevail on other influential gentlemen of Ohio to so define their position as to be of immense value to the army—thus more than compensating for the consequences of any mistake in allowing Mr. Vallandigham to return, so that, on the whole, the public safety will not have suffered by it. Still, in regard to Mr. Vallandigham and all others, I must hereafter, as heretofore, do so much as the public service may seem to require.

"I have the honor to be respectfully, yours, &c.,

"A. LINCOLN."

The canvass throughout the summer was very animated, the opponents of the administration in Ohio, as elsewhere throughout the country, making the matter of arbitrary arrests a very prominent point of attack. Special prominence was given to the fact that instead of acting directly upon his own responsibility in these

cases, the President left them to the discretion of military commanders in the several departments; this being held to be in violation of the law of Congress authorizing the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, but not to delegate that high prerogative. To meet this objection, therefore, and to establish a uniform mode of action on the subject, the President issued the following

"PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States has ordained that 'The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shal not be suspended, unless, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it; and, WHEREAS, a rebellion was existing on the 3d day of March, 1863, which rebellion is still existing; and, WHEREAS, by a statute which was approved on that day, it was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, that during the present insurrection the President of the United States, whenever in his judgment the public safety may require, is authorized to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any case throughout the United States, or any part thereof; and, WHEREAS, in the judgment of the President the public safety does require that the privilege of the said writ shall now be suspended throughout the United States in cases where, by the authority of the President of the United States, military, naval and civil officers of the United States, or any of them, hold persons under their command or in their custody, either as prisoners of war, spies, or aiders or abettors of the enemy, or officers, soldiers, or seamen enrolled, drafted, or mustered, or enlisted in, or belonging to the land or naval forces of the United States, or as deserters therefrom, or otherwise amenable to military law, or to the rules and articles of war, or the rules and regulations prescribed for the military or naval services by the authority of the President of

the United States, or for resisting the draft, or for any other offence against the military or naval service; now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and make known to all whom it may concern, that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended throughout the United States, in the several cases before mentioned, and that this suspension will continue throughout the duration of the said rebellion, or until this proclamation shall, by a subsequent one, to be issued by the President of the United States, be modified and revoked. And I do hereby require all magistrates, attorneys, and other civil officers within the United States, and all officers and others in the military and naval services of the United States, to take distinct notice of this suspension, and give it full effect, and all citizens of the United States to conduct and govern themselves accordingly, and in conformity with the Constitution of the United States, and the laws of Congress in such cases made and provided.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed, this fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WM. H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

The Strenuous efforts hitherto made by the enemies of the government to arouse hostility against its general policy, had proved successful in the discouragement of volunteer enlistments; and the government found it necessary to resort to the extraordinary power vested in it by the "Conscription Act." The questions raised in regard to the liability of foreigners to be drafted under this law, were decisively settled by a special proclama-

tion from the President, on the 8th of May, 1863; and it was subsequently ordered that the draft should take place in July, and the quotas were assigned to the respective States.

Great pains had been taken by the opponents of the administration to excite odium against that clause of the law fixing the price of exemption from service under the draft at three hundred dollars. It was represented that this clause was for the special benefit of the rich, who could easily pay the sum required; while poor men who were unable to pay it would be compelled, at whatever hardships to themselves and their families, to enter the army. The draft was commenced in the city of New York on Saturday, July 11th, and was conducted quietly and successfully during that day. But on Monday morning, July 13th, one of the district enrolling officers was suddenly attacked by an armed mob, the wheel and lists destroyed, and the building set on fire. The city was surprised by this sudden outbreak of an evidently organized attempt to overawe the government authority, for the first day's movements seemed to be primarily directed against every one supposed to be in any way concerned in the draft, or prominently identified, officially or otherwise, with the administration or the Republican party. After the first day the rioters took a new turn, and gave themselves up to indiscriminate sack aud pillage of whatever they could lay their hands upon. Unfortunately the militia regiments of the city had been sent to Pennsylvania to meet the rebel invasion; and the only guardians left for the public peace were the regular police, and a few hundred soldiers who garrisoned the forts. Both behaved

with the greatest vigor and fidelity, but they were too few to protect the city, which, for four days, seemed to be perfectly abandoned to the control of the mob. Negroes were assaulted, beaten to death, mutilated, and hung; buildings burned, and gangs of desparadoes patrolled the streets, levying contributions, and ordering places of business to be closed.

Finally, however, the strong arm of the law began to make itself felt. The noble efforts of the United States troops and the police, aided by the militia regiments who began to return from Pennsylvania, were successful in dispersing the bands of rioters, and restoring the peace of the city.

During these riots the draft was necessarily suspended. and on the 3d of August, Governor Seymour addressed a long letter to the President, asking that further proceedings under the draft might be postponed until it should be seen whether the number required from the State of New York could not be raised by volunteering, and also until the constitutionality of the law could be tested in the judicial tribunals. In his reply, Mr. Lincoln, after stating the facts and premises on which the government had acted in regard to the draft in New York city, thus frankly but firmly meets the issue made by the Governor:

"I do not object to abide a decision of the United States Supreme Court, or of the Judges thereof, on the constitutionality of the draft law. In fact, I should be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it. But I cannot consent to lose the time while it is being obtained. We are contending with an enemy who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen.

No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with a rapidity not to be matched on our side, if we first waste time to re-experiment with the volunteer system, already deemed by Congress, and palpably, in fact, so far exhausted as to be inadequate; and then more time to obtain a court decision as to whether a law is constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it; and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go. My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and free principles of our common country.

"Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN."

The draft in New York was resumed on the 19th of August, and ample preparations having been made for the preservation of the public peace, encountered no further opposition. In every other part of the country, the proceedings were conducted and completed without resistance.

Another combination of unfortunate events and circumstances which sorely beset and tried the patience of the Chief Magistrate was the unfortunate *Missouri* imbroglio.

In this State, at the outbreak of the rebellion, the Executive Department was under the control of traitors, who, under pretence of warding off domestic treason, were, in reality, organizing its forces for active co-operation with the secession movement. Governor Jackson had convened the Legislature for the purpose of taking the State out of the Union, but the people defeated his

traitorous project, by electing a large majority of Union members, who, on the 30th of July, 1861, declared all the Executive offices vacant, and appointed a loyal provisional government, of which the Hon. H. R. Gamble was made the head. He immediately ordered all rebel troops to withdraw from the State; called upon the citizens to organize for the public defense, and took other decisive measures to maintain the national authority within the State. Shortly after, Governor Jackson, returning from Richmond, declared the State to be out of the Union, and summoned a new Legislature, which, subservient to his wishes, on the 2d of November, ratified a treaty, by which certain commissioners, on both sides, agreed that Missouri should join the rebel confederacy. The State authority was thus divided—two persons claiming to wield the Executive authority, and two bodies, also, claiming to represent the popular will,—one adhering to the Union, and the other to the confederacy in organized rebellion against it. This state of things naturally opened every section and neighborhood of the State, to all the evil effects of civil war.

To these were gradually added other evils arising from a division of sentiment, which soon ripened into sharp hostility, among the friends of the Union within the State. One of the principal and earliest causes of this was the action and removal of General Fremont, who had arrived at St. Louis, to take command of the Western Department, on the 26th of July, 1861. On the 31st of August he issued a proclamation, declaring that circumstances, in his judgment, of sufficient urgency rendered it necessary that "*the commanding general of the Department should assume the administrative power*

of the State, thus superseding entirely the authority of the civil rulers; proclaiming, also, the State to be under martial law; declaring that all persons taken with arms in their hands, within the designated lines of the department, should be tried by a court-martial, and if found guilty, shot; and confiscating the property and emancipating the slaves of "all persons who should be proved to have taken an active part with the enemies of the United States." This latter clause, which transcended the authority conferred by the confiscation act of Congress, was subsequently modified by order of the President of the United States.*

On the 14th of October, after a personal inspection of affairs in that department by the Secretary of War, General Fremont was censured by an order from the War office, on grounds mainly relating to his lavish and unwarranted expenditures, etc.; and this was followed, on the 2d of November, by an order relieving him from his command, which then devolved upon General Hunter. He, in turn, was superseded, sixteen days later, by General Halleck. Fremont's removal was made, by his numerous friends, especially among the German population, the occasion of magnificent public demonstrations of sympathy for him, and of censure for the government; his removal being ascribed to jealousy of his popularity, and to the well-known fact that his policy in regard to emancipation was in advance of the government at Washington.

The sharp personal discussions which were thus inaugurated, were made still more bitter, by denunciations

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* See page 288.

of General Halleck's course in excluding, for military reasons, which have been already noticed, fugitive slaves from our lines, and by the contest that soon came up in the State Convention, on the general subject of emancipation. On the 7th of June, 1862, a bill was introduced into the Convention by Judge Breckinridge, of St. Louis, for gradual emancipation, framed in accordance with the recommendation of the President's message. This was, however, summarily laid on the table, but was revived, on the 13th, by a special message from Governor Gamble, and was then referred to a special committee, which reported resolutions, recognizing the generous nature of the movement, but declining to take any action upon it. These resolutions were adopted.

On the 16th, a mass convention of emancipationists, comprising one hundred and ninety-five delegates from twenty-five counties, met at Jefferson City, and passed resolutions, declaring that it was the duty of the next Legislature to pass laws giving effect to a gradual system of emancipation on the basis proposed. This question, therefore, became the leading theme of controversy, and the key-note of the ensuing State election, resulting in the election of a Legislature, the large majority of which was favorable to emancipation.

During the summer, the State was overrun with rebel guerillas, who robbed and plundered the Unionists; so that Governor Gamble was obliged to order the organization of the entire militia of the State, and authorized General Schofield to call into active service such portions of it as might be needed to put down the marauders,

and defend peaceable and loyal citizens. The organization was effected with promptness, and the State militia became a powerful auxiliary of the national forces, in clearing all sections of the State of the lawless bands which had committed so many outrages.

On the 19th of September, the States of Missouri, Kansas and Arkansas, were formed into a military district, of which the command was assigned to General Curtis, whose sentiments were thoroughly in sympathy with the friends of immediate emancipation, and the supporters of General Fremont in his differences with the government. He had control of the national forces in his district, but not of the State militia.

The differences of political sentiment between the two wings of the Union party of the State were represented, to some extent, by two organized military forces; and the contest between them was waged with increasing bitterness, to the great embarrassment of the government at Washington, and to the injury of the Union cause. At length, in the spring of 1863, the President removed General Curtis from his command, and appointed General Schofield in his place. This gave rise to very vehement remonstrances and protests, to one of which, sent by telegraph, the President made the following reply:

"Your despatch of to-day is just received. It is very painful to me that you, in Missouri, cannot, or will not, settle your factional quarrel among yourselves. I have been tormented with it beyond endurance, for months, by both sides. Neither side pays the least respect to my appeals to your reason. I am now compelled to take hold of the case.

"A. LINCOLN."

To General Schofield himself, the President soon after addressed the following letter:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *May* 27, 1863.

"GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD:

"DEAR SIR:—Having removed General Curtis, and assigned you to the command of the Department of the Missouri, I think it may be of some advantage to me to state to you why I did it. I did not remove General Curtis because of my full conviction that he had done wrong by commission or omission. I did it because of a conviction in my mind that the Union men of Missouri, constituting when united, a vast majority of the people, have entered into a persistent, factious quarrel, among themselves, General Curtis, perhaps not of choice, being the head of one faction, and Governor Gamble that of the other. After months of labor to reconcile the difficulty, it seemed to grow worse and worse, until I felt it my duty to break it up somehow, and as I could not remove Governor Gamble, I had to remove General Curtis. Now that you are in the position, I wish you to undo nothing merely because General Curtis or Governor Gamble did it, but to exercise your own judgment, and do right for the public interest. Let your military measures be strong enough to repel the invaders and keep the peace, and not so strong as to unnecessarily harass and persecute the people. It is a difficult *rôle*, and so much greater will be the honor if you perform it well. If both factions, or neither, shall abuse you, you will probably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other. Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

This action gave great dissatisfaction to the more radical Unionists of the State. They had long been anxious to have the provisional government, of which Governor Gamble was the executive head, set aside by the national authority, and the control of the State vested

in a military governor clothed with the authority which General Fremont had assumed to exercise by his proclamation of August 31st, 1861;—and the Germans, in particular, made very urgent demands for the restoration of General Fremont himself. Several deputations visited Washington for the purpose of representing these views and wishes to the President, and also of insisting upon sundry changes in the Cabinet; the dismissal of General Halleck from the position of Commander of the Armies of the United States; and other matters of equal importance.

The following report of President Lincoln's reply to these various requests, was made by a member of a committee appointed at a mass meeting, composed mainly of Germans, held at St. Louis, on the 10th of May, 1863, and although made by a person opposed to the President's action, it probably affords a substantially correct statement of his remarks:

"MESSRS. EMILE PRETORIOUS, THEODORE OLSHAUSEN, R. E. ROMBAUR, ETC.:

"GENTLEMEN:—During a professional visit to Washington city, I presented to the President of the United States, in compliance with your instructions, a copy of the resolutions adopted in mass meeting at St. Louis on the 10th of May, 1863, and I requested a reply to the suggestions therein contained. The President, after a careful and loud reading of the whole report of proceedings, saw proper to enter into a conversation of two hours' duration, in the course of which most of the topics embraced in the resolutions and other subjects were discussed.

"As my share in the conversation is of secondary importance, I propose to omit it entirely in this report, and avoiding

details, to communicate to you the substance of noteworthy remarks made by the President.

"1. The President said that it may be a misfortune for the nation that he was elected President. But, having been elected by the people, he meant to be President, and perform his duty according to *his* best understanding, if he had to die for it. No general will be removed, nor will any change in the Cabinet be made, to suit the views or wishes of any particular party, faction or set of men. General Halleck is not guilty of the charges made against him, most of which arise from misapprehension or ignorance of those who prefer them.

"2. The President said that it was a mistake to suppose that Generals John C. Fremont, B. F. Butler, and F. Sigel are 'systematically kept out of command,' as stated in the fourth resolution; that, on the contrary, he fully appreciated the merits of the gentlemen named; that by their own actions they had placed themselves in the positions which they occupied; that he was not only willing, but anxious to place them again in command as soon as he could find spheres of action for them, without doing injustice to others, but that at present he 'had more pegs than holes to put them in.'

"3. As to the want of unity, the President, without admitting such to be the case, intimated that each member of the Cabinet was responsible mainly for the manner of conducting the affairs of his particular department; that there was no centralization of responsibility for the action of the Cabinet anywhere, except in the President himself.

"4. The dissensions between Union men in Missouri are due solely to a factious spirit which is exceedingly reprehensible. The two parties 'ought to have their heads knocked together.' 'Either would rather see the defeat of their adversary than that of Jefferson Davis.' To this spirit of faction is to be ascribed the failure of the Legislature to elect Senators, and the defeat of the Missouri Aid Bill in Congress, the passage of which the President strongly desired.

"The President said that the Union men in Missouri who are in favor of *gradual emancipation* represented his views better than those who are in favor of *immediate emancipation.* In explanation of his views on this subject, the President said that in his speeches he had frequently used, as an illustration, the case of a man who had an excrescence on the back of his neck, the removal of which, *in one operation,* would result in the death of the patient, while 'tinkering it off by degrees' would preserve life.' Although sorely tempted, I did not reply with the illustration of the dog whose tail was amputated by inches, but confined myself to arguments. *The President announced clearly that, as far as he was at present advised, the Radicals in Missouri had no right to consider themselves the exponents of his views on the subject of emancipation in that State.*

"5. General Curtis was not relieved on account of any wrong act or great mistake committed by him. The system of provost-marshals, established by him throughout the State, gave rise to violent complaint. That the President had thought at one time to appoint General Fremont in his place; that at another time he had thought of appointing General McDowell, whom he characterized as a good and loyal, though very unfortunate soldier; and that, at last, General Schofield was appointed, with a view, if possible, to reconcile and satisfy the two factions in Missouri. He has instructions not to interfere with either party, but to confine himself to his military duties. I assure you, gentlemen, that our side was as fully presented as the occasion permitted. At the close of the conversation, the President remarked that there was evidently a 'serious misunderstanding springing up between him, and the Germans of St. Louis, which he would like to see removed. Observing to him that the difference of opinion related to facts, men, and measures, I withdrew.

"I am very respectfully, etc., JAMES TAUSSIG."

On the 1st of July, the State Convention passed an

amendment to the Constitution, declaring that slavery should cease to exist in Missouri on the 4th of July, 1870, with certain specified exceptions. The demand, however, was made for immediate emancipation, and Governor Gamble and the members of the provisional government who had favored the policy adopted by the State Convention, were denounced as the advocates of slavery and allies of the rebellion. In the early part of August, the murderous guerrilla raid into the town of Lawrence, Kansas, aroused the most intense excitement in the adjoining State of Missouri, and the opponents of the provisional government siezed the occasion to throw upon it and General Schofield, who had command of the State militia as well as of the national forces, the responsibility in having permitted this massacre to take place.

At a mass convention, held at Jefferson city, on the 2d of September, resolutions were adopted denouncing the military policy pursued in the State and the delegation of military powers to the provisional government. A committee of one from each county was appointed to visit Washington and lay their grievances before the President; and in the latter part of September the committee had an interview with the President, in which they represented Governor Gamble and General Schofield as in virtual alliance with the rebels, and demanded the removal of the latter as an act of justice to the loyal and anti-slavery men of the State. The committee also held public meetings in several of the northern cities, for the purpose of enlisting public sentiment in their support; asserting that the radical emancipation party was the only one which represented the loyalty

of Missouri, and strongly censuring President Lincoln for "closing his ears to just, loyal, and patriotic demands of the radical party, while he indorsed the disloyal and oppressive demands of Governor Gamble, General Schofield, and their adherents."

On the 5th of October, the President made to the representations and requests of the Committee the following reply:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *Oct. 5th*, 1863.

"HON. CHARLES DRAKE and others, Committee:

"GENTLEMEN:—Your original address, presented on the 30th ult., and the four supplementary ones presented on the 3d inst., have been carefully considered. I hope you will regard the other duties claiming my attention, together with the great length and importance of these documents, as constituting a sufficient apology for my not having responded sooner.

"These papers, framed for a common object, consist of the things demanded, and the reasons for demanding them.

"The things demanded are:

'*First*, That General Schofield shall be relieved, and General Butler be appointed as Commander of the military department of Missouri.

"*Second*, That the system of enrolled militia in Missouri may be broken up, and national forces be substituted for it; and,

"*Third*, That at elections, persons may not be allowed to vote who are not entitled by law to do so.

"Among the reasons given, enough of suffering and wrong to Union men, is certainly, and I suppose truly, stated. Yet the whole case, as presented, fails to convince me that General Schofield, or the enrolled militia, is responsible for that suffering and wrong. The whole can be explained on a more charitable, and, as I think, a more rational hypothesis.

"We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main

question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union *with*, but not *without slavery*—those for it *without* but not *with*—those for it *with* or *without*, but prefer it *with*, and those for it *with* or *without*, but prefer it *without*.

"Among these, again, is a subdivision of those who are for *gradual*, but not for *immediate*, and those who are for *immediate*, but not for *gradual* extinction of slavery.

"It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences, each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once, sincerity is questioned, and motives are assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies, and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only. But this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad, and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures deemed indispensable but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges, and murders for pelf proceed under any cloak that will best serve for the occasion.

"These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general. The newspaper files, those chroniclers of current events, will show that the evils now complained of, were quite as prevalent under Fremont, Hunter, Halleck, and Curtis, as under Schofield. If the former had greater force opposed to them, they also had greater force with which to

meet it. When the organized rebel army left the State, the main Federal force had to go also, leaving the department commander at home, relatively no stronger than before. Without disparaging any, I affirm with confidence, that no commander of that department has, in proportion to his means, done better than General Schofield.

"The first specific charge against General Schofield is, that the enrolled militia was placed under his command, whereas it had not been placed under the command of General Curtis. The fact is, I believe, true; but you do not point out, nor can I conceive, how that did, or could, injure loyal men or the Union cause.

"You charge that General Curtis being superseded by General Schofield, Franklin A. Dick was superseded by James O. Broadhead as Provost-Marshal-General. No very specific showing is made as to how this did or could injure the Union cause. It recalls, however, the condition of things, as presented to me, which led to a change of commander of that department.

"To restrain contraband intelligence and trade, a system of searches, seizures, permits and passes, had been introduced, I think, by General Fremont. When General Halleck came, he found and continued the system, and added an order, applicable to some parts of the State, to levy and collect contributions from noted rebels, to compensate losses, and relieve destitution caused by the rebellion. The action of General Fremont and General Halleck, as stated, constituted a sort of system which General Curtis found in full operation when he took command of the department. That there was a necessity for something of the sort was clear; but that it could only be justified by stern necessity, and that it was liable to great abuse in administration, was equally clear. Agents to execute it, contrary to the great prayer, were led into temptation. Some might, while others would not, resist that temptation. It was not possible to hold any to a very strict accountability; and those yielding to

the temptation, would sell permits and passes to those who would pay most and most readily for them; and would seize property and collect levies in the aptest way to fill their own pockets. Money being the object, the man having money, whether loyal or disloyal, would be a victim. This practice doubtless existed to some extent, and it was a real additional evil, that it could be, and was plausibly charged to exist in greater extent than it did.

"When General Curtis took command of the department, Mr. Dick, against whom I never knew any thing to allege, had general charge of this system. A controversy in regard to it rapidly grew into almost unmanageable proportions. One side ignored the *necessity* and magnified the evils of the system, while the other ignored the evils and magnified the necessity; and each bitterly assailed the other. I could not fail to see that the controversy enlarged in the same proportion as the professed Union men there distinctly took sides in two opposing political parties. I exhausted my wits, and very nearly my patience also, in efforts to convince both that the evils they charged on each other were inherent in the case, and could not be cured by giving either party a victory over the other.

"Plainly, the irritating system was not to be perpetual; and it was plausibly urged that it could be modified at once with advantage. The case could scarcely be worse, and whether it could be made better could only be determined by a trial. In this view, and not to ban, or brand General Curtis, or to give a victory to any party, I made the change of commander for the department. I now learn that soon after this change Mr. Dick was removed, and that Mr. Broadhead, a gentleman of no less good character, was put in the place. The mere fact of this change is more distinctly complained of than is any conduct of the new officer, or other consequences of the change.

"I gave the new commander no instructions as to the administration of the system mentioned, beyond what is contained in the private letter afterward surreptitiously published, in which

I directed him to act solely for the public good, and independently of both parties. Neither any thing you have presented me, nor any thing I have otherwise learned, has convinced me that he has been unfaithful to this charge.

"Imbecility is urged as one cause for removing General Schofield, and the late massacre at Lawrence, Kansas, is pressed as evidence of that imbecility. To my mind that fact scarcely tends to prove the proposition. That massacre is only an example of what Grierson, John Morgan, and many others, might have repeatedly done on their respective raids, had they chosen to incur the personal hazard, and possessed the fiendish hearts to do it.

"The charge is made that General Schofield, on purpose to protect the Lawrence murderers, would not allow them to be pursued into Missouri. While no punishment could be too sudden or too severe for those murderers, I am well satisfied that the preventing of the threatened remedial raid into Missouri was the only way to avoid an indiscriminate massacre there, including probably more innocent than guilty. Instead of condemning, I therefore approve what I understand General Schofield did in that respect.

"The charge that General Schofield has purposely withheld protection from loyal people, and purposely facilitated the objects of the disloyal, are altogether beyond my power of belief. I do not arraign the veracity of gentlemen as to the facts complained of; but I do more than question the judgment which would infer that these facts occurred in accordance with the purposes of General Schofield.

"With my present views, I must decline to remove General Schofield. In this I decide nothing against General Butler. I sincerely wish it were convenient to assign him a suitable command.

"In order to meet some existing evils, I have addressed a letter of instruction to General Schofield, a copy of which I inclose to you. As to the 'Enrolled Militia,' I shall endeavor

to ascertain, better than I now know, what is its exact value. Let me now say, however, that your proposal to substitute national force for the 'Enrolled Militia,' implies that, in your judgment, the latter is doing something which needs to be done; and if so, the proposition to throw that force away, and to supply its place by bringing other forces from the field where they are urgently needed, seems to me very extraordinary. Whence shall they come? Shall they be withdrawn from Banks, or Grant, or Steele, or Rosecrans?

"Few things have been so grateful to my anxious feelings, as when, in June last, the local force in Missouri aided General Schofield to so promptly send a large general force to the relief of General Grant, then investing Vicksburg, and menaced from without by General Johnson. Was this all wrong? Should the enrolled militia then have been broken up, and General Herron kept from Grant, to police Missouri? So far from finding cause to object, I confess to a sympathy for whatever relieves our general force in Missouri, and allows it to serve elsewhere.

"I therefore, as at present advised, cannot attempt the destruction of the enrolled militia of Missouri. I may add that, the force being under the national military control, it is also within the proclamation with regard to the *habeas corpus*.

"I concur in the propriety of your request in regard to elections, and have, as you see, directed General Schofield accordingly. I do not feel justified to enter upon the broad field you present in regard to the political differences between Radicals and Conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The public knows it well. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody. The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things; for then they would agree with each other, and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise,

and I do not question their right. I, too, shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold whoever commands in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me, and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to hear all; but, at last, I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear.

"Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN."

INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL SCHOFIELD.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., *Oct.* 1, 1863.

"General JOHN M. SCHOFIELD:—There is no organized military force in avowed opposition to the General Government now in Missouri, and if any shall reappear, your duty in regard to it will be too plain to require any special instruction. Still, the condition of things, both there and elsewhere, is such as to render it indispensable to maintain, for a time, the United States military establishment in that State, as well as to rely upon it for a fair contribution of support to that establishment generally. Your immediate duty in regard to Missouri now is to advance the efficiency of that establishment, and to so use it, as far as practicable, to compel the excited people there to let one another alone.

"Under your recent order, which I have approved, you will only arrest individuals, and suppress assemblies or newspapers, when they may be working *palpable* injury to the military in your charge; and in no other case will you interfere with the expression of opinion in any form, or allow it to be interfered with violently by others. In this you have a discretion to exercise with great caution, calmness, and forbearance.

"With the matter of removing the inhabitants of certain counties *en masse*, and of removing certain individuals from time to time, who are supposed to be mischievous, I am not now interfering, but am leaving to your own discretion.

"Nor am I interfering with what may still seem to you to be necessary restrictions upon trade and intercourse. I think

proper, however, to enjoin upon you the following: Allow no part of the military under your command to be engaged in either returning fugitive slaves, or in forcing or enticing slaves from their homes; and, so far as practicable, enforce the same forbearance upon the people.

"Report to me your opinion upon the availability for good of the enrolled militia of the State. Allow no one to enlist colored troops, except upon orders from you, or from here through you.

"Allow no one to assume the functions of confiscating property, under the law of Congress, or otherwise, except upon orders from here.

"At elections see that those, and only those, are allowed to vote, who are entitled to do so by the laws of Missouri, including as of those laws the restrictions laid by the Missouri Convention upon those who may have participated in the rebellion.

"So far as practicable, you will, by means of your military force, expel guerrillas, marauders, and murderers, and all who are known to harbor, aid, or abet them. But in like manner you will repress assumptions of unauthorized individuals to perform the same service, because under pretence of doing this they become marauders and murderers themselves.

"To now restore peace, let the military obey orders; and those not of the military leave each other alone, thus not breaking the peace themselves.

"In giving the above directions, it is not intended to restrain you in other expedient and necessary matters not falling within their range. Your obedient servant,

"A. LINCOLN."

The condition of affairs in this department, however, continued to be so greatly disturbed by political agitations, and the personal controversies to which they gave rise, that after a lapse of some months, the President thought best to relieve General Schofield from further

command in this department, and General Rosecrans was appointed in his place. In his order assuming command, dated January 30th, 1864, General Rosecrans paid a very high compliment to his predecessor for the admirable order in which he found the business of the department, and expressed the hope that he might receive "the honest, firm, and united support of all true national and Union men of the department, without regard to politics, creed, or party, in his endeavors to maintain law and re-establish peace and secure prosperity throughout its limits."

During the year, an attempt was made by the Emperor of the French to secure the co-operation of Russia and England in a joint effort at co-operation between the United States government and the rebel authorities. The attempt failed, owing to the unwillingness of the two latter powers to join in the contemplated mediation; and the French government, thereupon, undertook the matter alone. Accordingly, on the 9th of January, 1863, it communicated to its minister at Washington the readiness of the Emperor to do any thing in his power which might tend towards the termination of the war. The advantages of the proposed mediation and conference between the United States and its rebellious States, were thus set forth in this dispatch :

"Representatives or commissioners of the two parties could assemble at such point as it should be deemed proper to designate, and which could, for this purpose, be declared neutral. Reciprocal complaints would be examined into at this meeting. In place of the accusations which North and South mutually cast upon each other at this time, would be substituted an argumentative discussion of the interests which divide them.

They would seek out by means of well ordered and profound deliberations whether these interests are definitively irreconcilable—whether separation is an extreme which can no longer be avoided, or whether the memories of a common existence, whether the ties of any kind which have made of the North and of the South one sole and whole Federative State, and have borne them on to so high a degree of prosperity, are not more powerful than the causes which have placed arms in the hands of the two populations. A negotiation, the object of which would be thus determinate, would not involve any of the objections raised against the diplomatic interventions of Europe, and, without giving birth to the same hopes as the immediate conclusion of an armistice, would exercise a happy influence on the march of events.

"Why, therefore, should not a combination which respects all the relations of the United States obtain the approbation of the Federal Government? Persuaded on our part that it is in conformity with their true interests, we do not hesitate to recommend it to their attention; and, not having sought in the project of a mediation of the maritime powers of Europe any vain display of influence, we would applaud, with entire freedom from all susceptibility of self-esteem, the opening of a negotiation which would invite the two populations to discuss, without the co-operation of Europe, the solution of their difference."

To this, the President made a reply, which embraces so many points of permanent interest and importance in connection with the policy of his administration, that it is well worthy of a place in his biography.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 6, 1863.

"SIR:—The intimation given in your dispatch of January 15th, that I might expect a special visit from M. Mercier, has been realized. He called on the 3d instant, and gave me a copy of

a dispatch which he had just then received from M. Drouyn de l'Huys under the date of the 9th of January.

"I have taken the President's instructions, and I now proceed to give you his views upon the subject in question.

"It has been considered with seriousness, resulting from the reflection that the people of France are known to be faultless sharers with the American nation in the misfortunes and calamities of our unhappy civil war; nor do we on this, any more than on other occasions, forget the traditional friendship of the two countries, which we unhesitatingly believe has inspired the counsels that M. Drouyn de l'Huys has imparted.

"He says, 'the Federal Government does not despair, we know, of giving more active impulse to hostilities;' and again he remarks, 'the protraction of the struggle, in a word, has not shaken the confidence (of the Federal Government) in the definitive success of its efforts.'

"These passages seem to me to do unintentional injustice to the language, whether confidential or public, in which this government has constantly spoken on the subject of the war. It certainly has had and avowed only one purpose—a determination to preserve the integrity of the country. So far from admitting any laxity of effort, or betraying any despondency, the government has, on the contrary, borne itself cheerfully in all vicissitudes, with unwavering confidence in an early and complete triumph of the national cause. Now, when we are, in a manner, invited by a friendly power to review the twenty-one months' history of the conflict, we find no occasion to abate that confidence. Through such an alternation of victories and defeats as is the appointed incident of every war, the land and naval forces of the United States have steadily advanced, reclaiming from the insurgents the ports, forts, and posts which they had treacherously seized before the strife actually began, and even before it was seriously apprehended. So many of the States and districts which the insurgents included in the field of their projected exclusive slaveholding

dominions have already been re-established under the flag of the Union, that they now retain only the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Texas, with half of Virginia, half of North Carolina, and two-thirds of South Carolina, half of Mississippi, and one-third respectively of Arkansas and Louisiana. The national forces hold even this small territory in close blockade and siege.

"This government, if required, does not hesitate to submit its achievements to the test of comparison; and it maintains that in no part of the world, and in no times, ancient or modern, has a nation, when rendered all unready for combat by the enjoyment of eighty years of almost unbroken peace, so quickly awakened at the alarm of sedition, put forth energies so vigorous, and achieved successes so signal and effective as those which have marked the progress of this contest on the part of the Union.

"M. Drouyn de l'Huys, I fear, has taken other light than the correspondence of this government for his guidance in ascertaining its temper and firmness. He has probably read of divisions of sentiment among those who hold themselves forth as organs of public opinion here, and has given to them an undue importance. It is to be remembered that this is a nation of thirty millions, civilly divided into forty-one States and Territories, which cover an expanse hardly less than Europe; that the people are a pure democracy, exercising everywhere the utmost freedom of speech and suffrage; that a great crisis necessarily produces vehement as well as profound debate, with sharp collisions of individual, local, and sectional interests, sentiments, and ambitions; and that this heat of controversy is increased by the intervention of speculations, interests, prejudices, and passions from every other part of the civilized world. It is, however, through such debates that the agreement of the nation upon any subject is habitually attained, its resolutions formed, and its policy established. While there has been much difference of popular opinion and

favor concerning the agents who shall carry on the war, the principles on which it shall be waged, and the means with which it shall be prosecuted, M. Drouyn de l'Huys has only to refer to the statute book of Congress and the executive ordinances, to learn that the national activity has hitherto been, and yet is, as efficient as that of any other nation, whatever its form of government, ever was, under circumstances of equally grave import to its peace, safety, and welfare. Not one voice has been raised anywhere, out of the immediate field of the insurrection, in favor of foreign intervention, of mediation, of arbitration, or of compromise, with the relinquishment of one acre of the national domain, or the surrender of even one constitutional franchise. At the same time, it is manifest to the world that our resources are yet abundant, and our credit adequate to the existing emergency.

"What M. Drouyn de l'Huys suggests, is that this government shall appoint commissioners to meet, on neutral ground, commissioners of the insurgents. He supposes that in the conferences to be thus held, reciprocal complaints could be discussed, and in place of the accusations which the North and South now mutually cast upon each other, the conferees would be engaged with discussions of the interests which divide them. He assumes, further, that the commissioners would seek by means of well-ordered and profound deliberation, whether these interests are definitively irreconcilable, whether separation is an extreme that can no longer be avoided, or whether the memories of a common existence, the ties of every kind which have made the North and the South one whole Federative State, and have borne them on to so high a degree of prosperity, are not more powerful than the causes which have placed arms in the hands of the two populations.

"The suggestion is not an extraordinary one, and it may well have been thought by the Emperor of the French, in the earnestness of his benevolent desire for the restoration of peace, a feasible one. But when M. Drouyn de l'Huys shall

come to review it in the light in which it must necessarily be examined in this country, I think he can hardly fail to perceive that it amounts to nothing less than a proposition that, while this government is engaged in suppressing an armed insurrection, with the purpose of maintaining the constitutional national authority, and preserving the integrity of the country, it shall enter into diplomatic discussion with the insurgents upon the questions whether that authority shall not be renounced, and whether the country shall not be delivered over to disunion, to be quickly followed by ever-increasing anarchy.

"If it were possible for the government of the United States to compromise the national authority so far as to enter into such debates, it is not easy to perceive what good results could be obtained by them.

"The commissioners must agree in recommending either that the Union shall stand, or that it shall be voluntarily dissolved; or else they must leave the vital question unsettled, to abide at last the fortunes of the war. The government has not shut out the knowledge of the present temper, any more than of the past purposes of the insurgents. There is not the least ground to suppose that the controlling actors would be persuaded at this moment, by any arguments which national commissioners could offer, to forego the ambition that has impelled them to the disloyal position they are occupying. Any commissioners who should be appointed by these actors, or through their dictation or influence, must enter the conference imbued with the spirit, and pledged to the personal fortunes of the insurgent chiefs. The loyal people in the insurrectionary States would be unheard, and any offer of peace by this government, on the condition of the maintenance of the Union, must necessarily be rejected.

"On the other hand, as I have already intimated, this government has not the least thought of relinquishing the trust which has been confided to it by the nation under the most solemn of all political sanctions; and if it had any such thought, it would

still have abundant reason to know that peace proposed at the cost of dissolution would be immediately, unreservedly, and indignantly rejected by the American people. It is a great mistake that European statesmen make, if they suppose this people are demoralized. Whatever, in the case of an insurrection, the people of France, or of Great Britain, or of Switzerland, or of the Netherlands, would do to save their national existence, no matter how the strife might be regarded by, or might affect foreign nations, just so much, and certainly no less, the people of the United States will do, if necessary, to save for the common benefit the region which is bounded by the Pacific and the Atlantic coasts, and by the shores of the Gulfs of St. Lawrence and Mexico, together with the free and common navigation of the Rio Grande, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Ohio, St. Lawrence, Hudson, Delaware, Potomac, and other natural highways by which this land, which to them is at once a land of inheritance and a land of promise, is opened and watered. Even if the agents of the American people now exercising their power should, through fear or faction, fall below this height of the national virtue, they would be speedily, yet constitutionally, replaced by others of sterner character and patriotism.

"I must be allowed to say, also, that M. Drouyn de l'Huys errs in his description of the parties to the present conflict. We have here, in the political sense, no North and South, no Northern and Southern States. We have an insurrectionary party, which is located chiefly upon and adjacent to the shore of the Gulf of Mexico; and we have, on the other hand, a loyal people, who constitute not only northern States, but also eastern, middle, western, and southern States.

"I have, on many occasions heretofore, submitted to the French government the President's views of the interests, and the ideas more effective for the time than even interests, which lie at the bottom of the determination of the American government and people to maintain the Federal Union. The

President has done the same thing in his messages and other public declarations. I refrain, therefore, from reviewing that argument in connection with the existing question.

"M. Drouyn de l'Huys draws to his aid the conferences which took place between the Colonies and Great Britain in our revolutionary war. He will allow us to assume that action in the crisis of a nation must accord with its necessities, and therefore can seldom be conformed to precedents. Great Britain, when entering on the negotiations, had manifestly come to entertain doubts of her ultimate success; and it is certain that the councils of the Colonies could not fail to take new courage, if not to gain other advantage, when the parent State compromised so far as to treat of peace on the terms of conceding their independence.

"It is true, indeed, that peace must come at some time, and that conferences must attend, if they are not allowed to precede the pacification. There is, however, a better form for such conferences than the one which M. Drouyn de l'Huys suggests. The latter would be palpably in derogation of the Constitution of the United States, and would carry no weight, because destitute of the sanction necessary to bind either the disloyal or the loyal portions of the people. On the other hand, the Congress of the United States furnishes a constitutional forum for debates between the alienated parties. Senators and Representatives from the loyal portion of the people are there already, freely empowered to confer; and seats also are vacant, and inviting senators and representatives of this discontented party who may be constitutionally sent there from the States involved in the insurrection. Moreover, the conferences which can thus be held in Congress have this great advantage over any that could be organized upon the plan of M. Drouyn de l'Huys, namely, that the Congress, if it were thought wise, could call a national convention to adopt its recommendations, and give them all the solemnity and binding force of organic law. Such conferences between the alienated parties may be said to have already

begun. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri—States which are claimed by the insurgents—are already represented in Congress, and submitting with perfect freedom and in a proper spirit their advice upon the course best calculated to bring about, in the shortest time, a firm, lasting, and honorable peace. Representatives have been sent also from Louisiana. and others are understood to be coming from Arkansas.

"There is a preponderating argument in favor of the Congressional form of conference over that which is suggested by M. Drouyn de l'Huys, namely, that while an accession to the latter would bring this Government into a concurrence with the insurgents in disregarding and setting aside an important part of the Constitution of the United States, and so would be of pernicious example, the Congressional conference, on the contrary, preserves and gives new strength to that sacred writing which must continue through future ages the sheet anchor of the republic.

"You will be at liberty to read this despatch to M. Drouyn de l'Huys, and to give him a copy if he shall desire it.

"To the end that you may be informed of the whole case, I transmit a copy of M. Drouyn de l'Huys' despatch.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD."

This despatch had the effect of promptly putting an end to all talk of foreign intervention in any form. Its closing suggestions relative to the mode in which the southern States could resume their former relations to Federal Government, were naturally taken as significant indications of the policy of the Administration in case of restoration; and, while sharply assailed in some quarters, called forth the cordial approbation of the people throughout the country.

The subject of appointing commissioners to confer with the rebel authorities had frequently been discussed previous to this correspondence, but the proposition had generally emanated from the opposition party, by whom it was represented that the rebels were only restrained from abandoning the contest by the refusal of the national government to furnish them an opportunity of doing so without undue humiliation and dishonor. So long before as December, 1862, the Hon. Fernando Wood, of New York, advised the President that he had reason to believe that the southern States would "send representatives to the next Congress, provided a full and general amnesty should permit them to do so," and suggesting the appointment of commissioners empowered to ascertain the truth of these assurances.

The reply of the President was characteristically frank, but cautious:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *Dec.* 12*th*, 1862.

"HON. FERNANDO WOOD:

"MY DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 8th, with the accompanying note of same date, was received yesterday.

"The most important paragraph in the letter, as I consider, is in these words: 'On the 25th of November last I was advised by an authority which I deemed likely to be well informed as well as reliable and truthful, that the southern States would send representatives to the next Congress, provided that a full and general amnesty should permit them to do so. No guarantee or terms were asked for other than the amnesty referred to.'

"I strongly suspect your information will prove to be groundless; nevertheless, I thank you for communicating it to me. Understanding the phrase in the paragraph above quoted—'the southern States would send representatives to the next

congress'—to be substantially the same as that 'the people of the southern States would cease resistance, and would reinaugurate, submit to, and maintain the national authority within the limits of such States, under the Constitution of the United States,' I say that in such case the war would cease on the part of the United States; and that if within a reasonable time 'a full and general amnesty' were necessary to such end, it would not be withheld.

"I do not think it would be proper now to communicate this, formally or informally, to the people of the southern States. My belief is that they already know it; and when they choose, if ever, they can communicate with me unequivocally. Nor do I think it proper now to suspend military operations to try any experiment of negotiation.

"I should nevertheless receive, with great pleasure, the exact information you now have, and also such other as you may in any way obtain. Such information might be more valuable before the 1st January than afterward.*

"While there is nothing in this letter which I shall dread to see in history, it is, perhaps, better for the present that its existence should not become public. I therefore have to request that you will regard it as confidential.

"Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN."

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* A reference to the Emancipation Proclamation, which the President proposed to issue on that day, in case his preliminary offer should be, at that time, unaccepted.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE YEAR 1863, AND MR. LINCOLN'S RENOMINATION FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

Two Drafts ordered.—The appointment of General U. S. Grant as Lieutenant-General.—His Programme of Military Operations.—Mr. Lincoln's remarks at the Patent Office Fair, in Washington.—His address to the Workingmen's Democratic Republican Association of New York.—His letter to the Christian Commission.—His speech at the U. S. Sanitary Commission Fair at Baltimore.—Political events; Mr. Lincoln is renominated for the Presidency.—Platform of the Republican Party.—His reception of the news of his Nomination.—General McClellan nominated by the Democratic Party, and General Fremont by the Radicals.—President Lincoln's Address at the Philadelphia Sanitary Fair.—Military events; a gloomy battle-summer; final successes: a change of popular feeling, and a day of Thanksgiving appointed.—The attempt of the Rebels to open Negotiations for Peace.—It is "squashed" by the President's note, "To whom it may Concern."—The Presidential election of 1864.—Mr. Lincoln is elected.—His speech upon being notified thereof.

THE requirements of the military and naval service called for their prompt and decided augmentation, and the President, therefore, on the 1st of February, 1864, issued an order for a draft for five hundred thousand men, to serve for three years or during the war, to be made on the tenth of March following. On the fourteenth of March, he issued orders for a supplementary draft in April, for an additional two hundred thousand men for the service in the army, navy, and marine corps of the United States.

On the twenty-six of March, 1864, the following pro-

clamation, explanatory of the one issued on the eighth of December, 1863, was published:

"*By the President of the United States of America.*

"WHEREAS, it has become necessary to define the cases in which insurgent enemies are entitled to the benefits of the proclamation of the President of the United States, which was made on the eighth day of December, 1863, and the manner in which they shall proceed to avail themselves of these benefits; and whereas the objects of that proclamation were to suppress the insurrection and to restore the authority of the United States; and whereas the amnesty therein proposed by the President was offered with reference to these objects alone:

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and declare that the said proclamation does not apply to the cases of persons who, at the time when they seek to obtain the benefits thereof by taking the oath thereby prescribed, are in military, naval, or civil confinement or custody, or under bonds, or on parole of the civil, military, or naval authorities, or agents of the United States, as prisoners of war, or persons detained for offences of any kind, either before or after conviction; and that on the contrary it does apply only to those persons who, being yet at large, and free from any arrest, confinement, or duress, shall voluntarily come forward and take the said oath, with the purpose of restoring peace and establishing the national authority.

"Persons excluded from the amnesty offered in the said proclamation may apply to the President for clemency, like all other offenders, and their application will receive due consideration.

"I do further declare and proclaim that the oath presented in the aforesaid proclamation of the eighth of December, 1863, may be taken and subscribed before any commissioned officer, civil, military, or naval, in the service of the United States, or

any civil or military officer of a State or Territory not in insurrection, who, by the laws thereof, may be qualified for administering oaths.

"All officers who receive such oaths are hereby authorized to give certificates thereof to the persons respectively by whom they are made, and such officers are hereby required to transmit the original records of such oaths at as early a day as may be convenient, to the Department of State, where they will be deposited, and remain in the archives of the government.

"The Secretary of State will keep a registry thereof, and will, on application, in proper cases, issue certificates of such records in the customary form of official certificates.

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, the twenty-sixth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight [L. S.] hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

On the 26th of February, Congress adopted a bill which had been introduced on the first day of the session, having for its object the revival of the rank of Lieutenant-General in the army. It was approved on the 2d of March by the President, who immediately nominated Major-General Ulysses S. Grant as the recipient of the high office, and the nomination was promptly confirmed on the same day, by the Senate. On the 9th of the same month, at the White House in Washington, the general received his commission from the hands of the President, who accompanied the presentation with these few, but earnest words :—

"GENERAL GRANT:—The expression of the nation's approbation of what you have already done, and its reliance on you for what remains to do in the existing great struggle, is now presented with this commission, constituting you *Lieutenant-General of the Army of the United States.*

"With this high honor devolves on you an additional responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need add, that with what I here speak for the country, goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

Accepting this commission with characteristic modesty, General Grant proceeded, with equal characteristic energy, to organize a grand campaign of offensive operations, which should combine the armies of the East and of the West in one simultaneous effort to throttle the rebellion, and end the war. It is true that the movements in Florida and Louisiana in the earlier part of the season, as well as the captures by the rebels of Fort Pillow and Plymouth, followed, as they were, by massacres of unparalleled barbarity—afforded no very auspicious opening to the campaign. Yet the public confidence was immensely strengthened by the appointment of General Grant to the chief command; for his previous signal success, as well as his earnest and unselfish character, was, to both people and soldiers, a pledge that the time and strength of a great nation would no longer be frittered away amid the petty bickerings of jealous military commanders and political aspirants.

In delegating this great power to Lieutenant-General Grant, the direction of military affairs had been limited by no hampering conditions. The entire forces of the country, with such subordinates and such preparations as

he especially desired, were freely placed at his disposal, by the government.

The armies of Eastern Tennessee and Virginia were heavily increased by new levies, and by an effective system of concentration; and, from the Pacific to the Mississippi, it soon became evident that, under the inspiration of a great controlling mind, every thing was being placed in condition for dealing a last effective blow at the already tottering Confederacy. The programme was briefly this: Sherman's field of operation was the South-west, and after taking and destroying Atlanta, he was to march directly through the heart of Georgia, making Savannah his first objective point; then striking northward, he was to compel the evacuation of Columbia, Charleston and Wilmington, and co-operate with Grant in the conquest of the rebel capital;—Thomas being left in the South-west, to check, and if possible to destroy Hood and Johnston. Meanwhile, Grant, with his brave lieutenants, Meade, Sheridan, and Hancock, were to accomplish the annihilation of Lee's splendid army, and the capture of the rebel capital. The highest compliment to the sagacity, tact, and military genius of the illustrious commander-in-chief, as displayed in this plan of operations, is found in the fact that, during the ensuing year, and in spite of all drawbacks and the many unforeseen emergencies which are constantly occurring to change the fortunes and character of a campaign—its details were finally carried out almost to the very letter, and with a completeness which ensured the much hoped-for results. Right gloriously did the Lieutenant-General vindicate his telegram to the President in May, saying,

"I intend to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer."

On the 21st of March, 1864, at the close of a fair for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers, held at the Patent Office, in Washington, Mr. Lincoln was called upon for a speech, and complied by making the following brief remarks:

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—I appear but to say a word. This extraordinary war in which we are engaged falls heavily upon all classes of people, but the most heavily upon the soldier. For it has been said, all that a man hath will he give for his life; and, while all contribute of their substance, the soldier puts his life at stake, and often yields it up in his country's cause. The highest merit, then is due to the soldier.

"In this extraordinary war, extraordinary developments have manifested themselves, such as have not been seen in former wars; and among these manifestations nothing has been more remarkable than these fairs for the relief of suffering soldiers and their families. And the chief agents in these fairs are the women of America. I am not accustomed to the use of the language of eulogy; I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women; but I must say that, if all that has been said by orators and poets, since the creation of the world, in praise of women, were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war. I will close by saying, God bless the women of America!" (Great applause.)

Three days later, a committee appointed by the Workingmen's Democratic Republican Association of New York waited on the President, and presented him with an address informing him that he had been elected an honorary member of that organization. To this, Mr. Lincoln made the following reply:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE:—The honorary membership in your association, so generously tendered, is gratefully accepted.

"You comprehend, as your address shows, that the existing rebellion means more and tends to do more than the perpetuation of African slavery—that it is, in fact, a war upon the rights of all working people. Partly to show that this view has not escaped my attention, and partly that I cannot better express myself, I read a passage from the message to Congress in December, 1861:

"It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government, the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgement of the existing right of suffrage, and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers, except the legislative, boldly advocated, with labored argument to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

"In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

"It is not needed, nor fitting here, that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place *capital* on an equal footing, if not above *labor*, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall *hire* laborers, and thus induce them to work by their

own consent, or *buy* them, and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either *hired* laborers, or what we call slaves. And further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer, is fixed in that condition for life. Now there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

"Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between capital and labor, producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of a community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and, with their capital, hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others, nor have others working for them. In most of the southern States a majority of the whole people of all colors, are neither slaves nor masters; while in the northern, a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men with their families—wives, sons, and daughters—work for themselves on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital; that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them, but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by this mixed class.

"Again, as has already been said, there is not, of necessity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that

condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives were hired laborers. The prudent penniless beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all—gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress, and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to touch or take aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.

"The views then expressed remain unchanged, nor have I much to add. None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. Let them beware of prejudices, working division and hostility among themselves. The most notable feature of a disturbance in your city last summer was the hanging of some working people by other working people. It should never be so. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable: is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and, hence, is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

In this connection we may, also, present the following

letter, written a year before, which is strongly indicative of the deep interest which Mr. Lincoln ever manifested in all these volunteer benevolent movements for the relief of the sick and wounded of the army and navy. It was addressed to the Christian Commission, in reply to an invitation to preside over the meeting of that body held in Washington, on the 22d of February, 1863.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, *February* 22d, 1863.

"REV. ALEXANDER REED:

"MY DEAR SIR:—Your note, by which you, as General Superintendent of the U. S. Christian Commission, invite me to preside at a meeting to be held this day, at the hall of the House of Representatives in this city, is received.

"While, for reasons which I deem sufficient, I must decline to preside, I cannot withhold my approval of the meeting, and its worthy objects. Whatever shall be, sincerely and in God's name, devised for the good of the soldiers and seamen in their hard spheres of duty, can scarcely fail to be blessed. And whatever shall tend to turn our thoughts from the unreasoning and uncharitable passions, prejudices, and jealousies incident to a great national trouble such as ours, and to fix them on the vast and long-enduring consequences, for weal or for woe, which are to result from the struggle, and especially to strengthen our reliance on the Supreme Being for the final triumph of the right, cannot but be well for us all.

"The birthday of Washington and the Christian Sabbath coinciding this year, and suggesting together the highest interests of this life and of that to come, it is the most propitious for the meeting proposed.

"Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN."

Another speech, delivered by Mr. Lincoln on the eighteenth of April, 1864, at the opening of a fair held in Baltimore, for the benefit of the United States Sani-

tary Commission, is especially suggestive, in view of the date, place, and occasion of its delivery. It will be remembered, that, on his way to Washington, in February, 1861, he had been obliged to pass through the city of Baltimore *incognito*, to escape from a plot of assassination, of which he had been forewarned. On the nineteenth of April, in the same year also, the blood of loyal soldiers, marching to protect the national capital, had been shed in the streets of that city, by ruffian hands. He now stood before an immense throng in the same city, on the anniversary eve of the assault upon those soldiers, and at the fair in aid of an organization for the benefit of Union soldiers everywhere. He spoke, too, of slavery, and was loudly cheered when he referred to the practically accomplished fact of its abolition, and announced the intention of government to give the fullest protection, even to the extent of retribution, to every black soldier in its armies.

The report of this speech, is here given, as it appeared in the Baltimore journals at the time.

After the cheering had ended, and after, with great exertions, order had been secured—everybody being anxious to see the President—he said, substantially:

"Ladies and Gentlemen:—Calling it to mind that we are in Baltimore, we cannot fail to note that the world moves. [Applause.] Looking upon these many people I see assembled here to serve, as they best may, the soldiers of the Union, it at once occurs to me that three years ago the same soldiers could not so much as pass through Baltimore. The change from then till now is both great and gratifying. I would say, blessings upon the men who have wrought the change, and the fair women who strive to reward them for it. [Applause.]

But, Baltimore suggests more than could happen within Baltimore. This change which has taken place in Baltimore, is part only of a far wider change, that is taking place all over the country.

"When the war began, three years ago, neither party, nor any man, expected it would last till now. Each looked for the end, in some way, long ere to-day. Neither did any anticipate that domestic slavery would be much affected by the war. But here we are; the war has not ended, and slavery has been much affected—how much needs not now to be recounted. [Loud applause.] So true it is that man proposes and God disposes.

"But we can see the past, though we may claim to have directed it; and seeing it, in this case, we feel more hopeful and confident for the future.

"The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same *word* we do not all mean the same *thing*. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of these things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny.

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as a *liberator*, while the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. [Applause.] Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails to-day among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by which thousands are daily passing from under the yoke of bondage

hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and bewailed by others as the destruction of all liberty. Recently, as it seems, the people of Maryland have been doing something to define liberty, and thanks to them that, in what they have done, the wolf's dictionary has been repudiated. [Applause.]

It is not very becoming for one in my position to make speeches at great length; but there is another subject upon which I feel that I ought to say a word. A painful rumor, true I fear, has reached us of the massacre, by the rebel forces at Fort Pillow, in the west end of Tennessee, on the Mississippi river, of some three hundred colored soldiers and white officers, who had just been overpowered by their assailants. There seems to be some anxiety in the public mind whether the government is doing its duty to the colored soldier, and to the service, at this point. At the beginning of the war, and for some time, the use of colored troops was not contemplated; and how the change of purpose was wrought, I will not now take time to explain. Upon a clear conviction of duty, I resolved to turn that element of strength to account; and I am responsible for it to the American people, to the Christian world, to history, and on my final account to God. Having determined to use the negro as a soldier, there is no way but to give him all the protection given to any other soldier. [Applause.] The difficulty is not in stating the principle, but in practically applying it. It is a mistake to suppose the government is indifferent to this matter, or is not doing the best it can in regard to it. We do not to-day *know* that a colored soldier, or white officer commanding colored soldiers, has been massacred by the rebels when made a prisoner. We fear it, believe it, I may say, but we do not *know* it. To take the life of one of their prisoners on the assumption that they murder ours, when it is short of certainty that they do murder ours, might be too serious, too cruel a mistake. We are having the Fort Pillow affair thoroughly investigated; and such investigation will probably show conclusively how the truth

is. If, after all that has been said, it shall turn out that there has been no massacre at Fort Pillow, it will be almost safe to say there has been none, and will be none elsewhere. If there has been the massacre of three hundred there, or even the tenth part of three hundred, it will be conclusively proven; and being so proven, the retribution shall as surely come. It will be matter of grave consideration in what exact course to apply the retribution; but, in the supposed case, it must come. [Applause.]

As Mr. Lincoln's term of office began to draw to a close, his renomination for the Presidency was clearly foreshadowed in the expressions of public opinion. The spring elections of 1864 in some of the New England States, proved, even more decidedly than those of the year previous, that his administration had become firmly grounded in the confidence of the people; and the fact that the administration party in each of those States made his election a distinct issue of the canvass, rendered the result of their local contests a most gratifying indorsement of Mr. Lincoln's personal popularity. To this was added, also, the unanimous and enthusiastic wish, as expressed through State conventions or Legislatures, that Mr. Lincoln should continue to hold during another term the office upon which he had already conferred such honor. A similar current of public opinion was strongly apparent in every northern State; and the friends of the government in Europe, also, looked upon his re-election as necessary to the salvation of our institutions.

When, therefore, on the seventh of June, 1864, the National Republican Convention assembled at Baltimore, the formal nomination of Mr. Lincoln as the

choice of the people for a second term of the Presidential office was regarded as a matter of course. The vote of the Convention, on the ninth, was as follows:

For Mr. Lincoln—Maine fourteen, New Hampshire ten, Vermont ten, Massachusetts twenty-four, Rhode Island eight, Connecticut twelve, New York sixty-five, New Jersey fourteen, Pennsylvania fifty-two, Delaware six, Maryland fourteen, Louisiana fourteen, Arkansas ten, Tennessee fifteen, Kentucky twenty-two, Ohio forty-two, Indiana twenty-six, Illinois thirty-two, Michigan sixteen, Wisconsin sixteen, Iowa sixteen, Minnesota eight, California ten, Oregon six, West Virginia ten, Kansas six, Nebraska six, Colorado six, Nevada six. Total, four hundred and ninety-seven.

For General Grant—Missouri twenty-two.

Abraham Lincoln was therefore, for the second time, nominated by acclamation for President of the United States; and Governor Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, also a self-made man, was nominated for the Vice Presidency. The convention also adopted the following pithy series of resolutions, embracing the platform of the party:

"*Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union, and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences and political opinions, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do every thing in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

"*Resolved,* That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels or to offer any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an 'unconditional surrender' of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrifice, the patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

"*Resolved,* That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic, and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defence, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people, in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

"*Resolved,* That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy (applause), who have periled their lives in defence of their country and in vindication of the honor of the flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provisions for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defence shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

"*Resolved,* That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and unswerving fidelity to the

Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the proclamation of emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery, and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

"*Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

"*Resolved*, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws or of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war by the rebels now in arms should be made the subject of full and prompt redress.

"*Resolved*, That the foreign immigration which in the past has added so much to the wealth and development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific.

"*Resolved*, That the national faith pledged for the redemption of the public debt must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the

public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

"*Resolved,* That we approve the position taken by the government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican government on the western continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy as menacing to the peace and independence of this our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments sustained by a foreign military force in near proximity to the United States."

Upon his nomination being officially announced to Mr. Lincoln, on the following day, he made this characteristic acceptance:

"GENTLEMEN:—I can only say, in response to the remarks of your chairman, I suppose, that I am very grateful for the renewed confidence which has been accorded to me, both by the convention and by the National League. I am not insensible at all to the personal compliment there is in this, yet I do not allow myself to believe that any but a small portion of it is to be appropriated as a personal compliment. The convention and the nation, I am assured, are alike animated by a higher view of the interests of the country for the present and the great future, and that part I am entitled to appropriate as a compliment, is only that part which I may lay hold of as being the opinion of the convention and of the league—that I am not unworthy to be intrusted with the place I have occupied for the last three years. I have not permitted myself, gentlemen, to conclude that I am the best man in the country; but I am reminded in this connection of a story of an old Dutch farmer, who remarked to a companion once, that 'it was not best to swap horses when crossing streams.'"

On the 29th of August of the same year, the Democratic Convention met at Chicago, and nominated George B. McClellan for the Presidency, and George H. Pendleton for the Vice Presidency. The platform of the party, as laid down by this convention, set forth, among other things, the following:

"*Resolved*, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity of a war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired; justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare, demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, or other peaceable means to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States."

General McClellan, in his letter of acceptance of this nomination, endeavored virtually to ignore the portion of the platform given above, and urged a vigorous prosecution of the war. This caused much dissatisfaction in the Democratic party, and for a time it seemed as though the party would be wrecked in advance of the election by these differences; some of the leading peace men of the party refusing to support General McClellan, while the War Democracy denounced the platform in unmeasured terms.

The radicals, also, impatient of what they considered Mr. Lincoln's weakness and over-caution, held a con-

vention at Cleveland, at which they nominated General Fremont as their banner bearer.

The year 1864 was signalized by a series of monster fairs, held in the principal cities of the Union, for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission. At one of these, the great "Central Sanitary Fair," held at Philadelphia, Mr. Lincoln and his wife were present, by invitation, on the 16th of June. A large multitude were present to welcome the beloved Chief Magistrate, and after partaking of an elegant collation which had been prepared, Mr. Lincoln made a characteristic address, in which, speaking of the war, he said:

"War, at the best, is terrible, and this war of ours, in its magnitude and its duration, is one of the most terrible. It has deranged business, totally in many localities, and partially in all localities. It has destroyed property, and ruined homes; it has produced a national debt and taxation unprecedented, at least in this country. It has carried mourning to almost every home, until it can almost be said that the 'heavens are hung in black.' * * * * *

"It is a pertinent question, often asked in the mind privately, and from one to the other, 'when is the war to end?' Surely I feel as deep an interest in this question as any other can, but I do not wish to name a day, or month, or a year when it is to end. I do not wish to run any risk of seeing the time come, without our being ready for the end, and for fear of disappointment because the time had come, and not the end. We accepted this war for an object, a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it never will until that time. [Great cheering.] Speaking of the present campaign, General Grant is reported to have said, 'I am going through on this line if it takes all summer!' [Cheers.] This war has taken three years; it was begun, or accepted, upon

the line of restoring the national authority over the whole national domain—and for the American people, as far as my knowledge enables me to speak, I say, we are going through on this line if it takes three years more. [Cheers.] My friends, I did not know but that I might be called upon to say a few words before I got away from here, but I did not know it was coming just here. [Laughter.] I have never been in the habit of making predictions in regard to the war, but I am almost tempted to make one. If I were to hazard it, it is this: That Grant is this evening, with General Meade and General Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and the brave officers and soldiers with him, in a position from whence he will never be dislodged until Richmond is taken, [loud cheering,] and I have but one single proposition to put now, and perhaps I can best put it in the form of an interrogatory. If I shall discover that General Grant, and the noble officers and men under him, can be greatly facilitated in their work by a sudden pouring forward of men and assistance, will you give them to me? [Cries of 'Yes!'] Then, I say, stand ready, for I am waiting for the chance. [Laughter and cheers.] I thank you, gentlemen."

The hint given by the President in his speech, was remembered, and better understood when, during the following month, a call was made for five hundred thousand more men.

The months of June, July and August, 1864, were, in respect to military events, the gloomiest and most discouraging which had been experienced since the summer of 1862. General Grant's operations, while they could not be called failures, were certainly not so successful as to relieve the public mind from deep anxiety and apprehension of disaster. Starting, on the 3d of May, and fighting heavily and persistently every step of the way from the Rapidan to the James; he had,

indeed, flanked Lee's army from one position after another, until he found himself, by the first of June, in front of Richmond—but, he had lost one hundred thousand men! Here the enemy stood desperately at bay, and Grant, although his immense losses had been fully recruited, found himself utterly unable to force the position; and without any apparent advantage to show for all that he had done. Things were at a "dead lock;" and, though he held Lee's army fast where it was, he was able to do but little more. A false move would have been fatal not only to his heroic army, but to the eternal liberties of the nation whose warrior-leader he was. In this critical position, he determined to throw his army across the James river, and attack Richmond on that side; and, in three days, the bold movement was accomplished, in the very face of the rebel foe, although without his knowledge.

Previously to this, in accordance with the Lieutenant-General's masterly plans, the Army of the James, under command of General Butler, had seized and fortified Bermuda Hundred, nearly midway between Richmond and Petersburg; had cut the railroad below the latter place, upon which an unsuccessful attack had been made; had laid siege to Fort Darling, but had been unable to hold the position against the rebels; and, having repelled all attacks on its lines, was prepared to render important assistance to the Army of the Potomac. In Western Virginia, the Union General, Sigel, had been defeated, and was relieved from command by General Hunter; who, though at first successful, was finally obliged to retreat before the rebel Early, with terrible suffering to his troops, and heavy losses of guns and

trains. Early, then, finding himself unopposed, pushed down the Shenandoah; crossed into Maryland; occupied Hagerstown and Frederick; plundered extensively; fought several battles with the militia which ventured to oppose him; burnt Postmaster-General Blair's residence at Silver Springs; destroyed the passenger trains on the Baltimore and Washington Railroad, and audaciously threatened both those cities. He even approached within two miles of the latter city, but finding himself unexpectedly confronted by the veteran Nineteenth Corps, fresh from New Orleans, and the Sixth from the Army of the Potomac, and a large force under General Couch, from Pennsylvania, in his rear; he hastened back into Virginia, taking with him his plunder, and burning the town of Chambersburg, Pa. These stirring events in the immediate vicinity of the national capital, of course added largely to the disquietude of the public mind, already depressed by the uncertainty of success on the part of our army. During all this exciting period, however, President Lincoln remained calmly at his post. Sheridan, meantime, had made his famous raid completely around Lee's lines, committing sad havoc with rebel stores and communications.

As soon as General Grant reached the south side of the James he ordered an immediate attack on Petersburg, which was unsuccessful; and a series of attacks upon the rebel works, resulted, by the 23d of June, in the investiture of that city, except on its northern and western sides. Then was tried, after considerable delay, the explosion of the great mine under the defences of Petersburg (July 30th), followed by an attack, which resulted only in terrible disaster and loss to the force

employed. Nothing, so far, seemed to have been gained. Then followed five weary weeks of sad depression to the loyal North, during which little was gained in the vicinity of Petersburg—except a slight advance, and contraction of the Union lines, accomplished only by occasional attacks and hand-to-hand conflicts. More important operations were recommenced late in September, by the battle of Chaffin's Farm; the affair of Fort Harrison; a cavalry reconnoissance within two miles of Richmond; a desperate attempt on the part of the rebels to turn the right flank of the Army of the James (October 7th); and the battle of Hatcher's Run on the 29th of the same month. Sheridan, who in August previous had been sent to the command of the Army of the Shenandoah, met, and in a series of brilliant actions defeated the rebel Early and drove him out of the valley. This was about the middle of October.

Sherman, also, during all these months, had been contending with a wily and powerful foe, and with obstacles of more than usual strength. Starting (May 7th) from Chattanooga (three hundred and fifty miles from his primary base at Louisville, and one hundred and seventy-five from his secondary base at Nashville), he commenced his march to Atlanta, one hundred and thirty miles distant, with slender lines of communication, surrounded by enemies and by topographical difficulties which might well have intimidated a less courageous strategist. By a series of severely-contested battles and masterly flanking manœuvres, he placed himself, by the 22d of July, in front of Hood's army, which had rallied at bay in the outer line of the defences of Atlanta. Here a desperate battle was fought,

in which the Union army was finally victorious, though their joy was sadly diminished by the loss of Major-General McPherson, one of the ablest and best-beloved of Sherman's lieutenants. Then ensued a series of operations by which Atlanta was severed from all its communications; but, as yet, it seemed impregnable—and with every day's delay Sherman's position became more critical. Finally, after another battle with Hood, who, for the third time, was severely whipped, Sherman determined to capture the city, if possible, by a grand flanking movement, which obliged him to *apparently* raise the siege. This was done; and while Hood was congratulating his army that Sherman had given up the capture of Atlanta as a hopeless task, he found his few remaining communications severed, and no hope for himself but immediate retreat. Blowing up his ammunition trains, he evacuated the town, which was occupied by the Union forces on the 2d of September.

While our soldiers were thus nobly doing their duty in the face of tremendous odds, "our gallant web-feet," as Mr. Lincoln once playfully nick-named the sailors, had been by no means inactive. Admiral Farragut had long desired to attack the defences of Mobile, and to check the blockade-running which it was impossible wholly to prevent while that port was left unmolested. An attack upon the three strong forts which guarded the entrance of the harbor had been several times projected, but as often delayed from one cause or another. Finally, during the month of July, 1864, an arrangement was made for a combined attack by land and sea forces, which was carried into effect on the 5th of August, resulting, after a terrible conflict, in the de-

struction of the rebel fleet; the capture of the famous armored-ship Tennessee, and of two hundred and thirty rebel officers and men; the abandonment on the next day of Fort Powell, with eighteen guns; the surrender on the eighth of Fort Gaines, with over eighteen hundred prisoners and twenty-six guns; and, on the 23d of August, after a further bombardment of twenty-four hours, of Fort Morgan, with sixty guns and six hundred prisoners. Thus the port of Mobile became hermetically sealed against blockade-runners, and a serious blow was given to the rebel cause.

The signal success at Mobile was almost the first—certainly the only considerable—victory which lighted up the gloom of this battle-summer. The general ill-success of our arms, the tremendous losses incurred, and the evident fact that the government was straining every nerve to meet the extraordinary demands made upon it, had produced in the public mind a feeling of intense anxiety and depression; of which the opponents of the Administration at home as well as abroad were prompt to take advantage. They "croaked" about our disasters; they bewailed what they termed the "reckless disregard of human life" manifested in our military operations; they exclaimed against the incompetency of the Cabinet; and "waxed exceeding wroth" over the measures adopted by the President and Secretary of War in certain critical emergencies; inveighed against what they were pleased to term a governmental interference with and disregard of the Constitution; and groaned over the vast expenditure of money which was saddling the country with a debt which "future generations yet unborn" would never live to see paid. In

short, taking advantage of the state of affairs, all that misrepresentation, malignity, personal ill-will and partizan zeal could find or invent to be used against Mr. Lincoln and his supporters in the coming election, was eagerly seized and venomously used.

These misrepresentations and croakings, together with the condition of military affairs, were not without their effect upon the popular mind. It would have been, perhaps, too much to expect that the people, so long disappointed, and so long delayed in the success of the undertaking to which they had freely and generously committed themselves, should not have been seriously disturbed and disheartened by the "logic of events," as interpreted by the insidious and plausible arguments of these malcontents. It was, indeed, a most critical moment for Mr. Lincoln and for the country. Impatient, dispirited, sick of war, and desirous of peace, the people were in a fit mood for any change of leaders, or of policy, which promised a speedy end to their difficulties.

It was at just this juncture, at the darkest moment of this hour of gloom and indecision, that the Democratic party nominated General McClellan for the Presidency, and put forth their peace platform—a platform which distinctly avowed the uselessness of a further continuance of the war, and a determination to secure a peace with the rebel leaders at any price. If ever the friends of the Union and of human liberty had cause to thank God for a "special providence," it was for the second section of the Chicago Platform!* The national heart,

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* See page 546.

although "sick with hope deferred," was not utterly callous to the promptings of duty and of right; and it quivered with indignation at this shameless avowal, by men who had been the persistent opponents of government, of a desire and a purpose to surrender to rebels in arms all for which our brave armies had been contending during the past four years. The opposition leaders had wofully mistaken the temper of the American people when they inserted the peace plank in their platform—for it was indignantly spurned, not only by the masses and by the soldiers in the field, but by a large portion of the Democratic party, who immediately rallied to the support of the Administration. From that moment the political issue was distinctly drawn, and as fairly understood by the people—"Shall we carry on this war to an honorable termination, or shall we cravenly surrender to rebels in arms?" The question involved the life of the nation, and the reaction in the popular feeling was prompt and powerful. Sophistries could no longer blind, and disasters no longer warp the better judgment of the masses; and public opinion once more began to flow in healthier and more cheerful channels. This happy change was most pleasantly intensified by the receipt, early in September, of the news of the glorious naval victory at Mobile, and of Sherman's triumphant occupation of Atlanta. And Mr. Lincoln, always prompt to acknowledge the agency of the Almighty in national affairs, immediately gave expression to the popular joy by proclaiming a day of Thanksgiving.

While these events were transpiring, the President received intimations that certain parties, professing to

represent the Confederate government, were at the Clifton House, at Niagara Falls, and desired to enter into negotiations for peace. These parties, who evidently began to foresee that the "beginning of the end" was drawing nigh, succeeded in persuading Mr. Horace Greeley that such a conference would be highly productive of good in ending the war; and, through his influence and agency, the President was placed in communication with these self-styled pacificators. Their real purpose was, undoubtedly, to induce Mr. Lincoln in some manner to recognize the bogus Southern Confederacy, and to entrap him into a revelation of his plan, or some overt admission which should be used to their advantage. They first applied for permission to visit Washington, "as bearers of propositions looking to the establishment of peace;" but Mr. Lincoln's caution and adroit management soon elicited from them the fact that they had no authority from Richmond to act officially upon the subject. He, therefore, contented himself with sending them the following characteristic message:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 18th*, 1864.

"TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

"Any propositions which embrace the restoration of peace, *the integrity of the whole Union*, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

This straightforward document, while it clearly demonstrated the perfect readiness of the President to afford full opportunity for the suggestion of any measures looking towards peace, at the same time pricked the hollow pretences of these pseudo-embassadors, who responded to it in a tone of ill-temper which betrayed their bitter disappointment at the failure of their nice little trap to catch Mr. Lincoln "napping." Their complaints, however, had no other effect than to render them ridiculous in the sight of the world, and their labors went for naught.

The presidential election took place upon the 8th of November, 1864; General Fremont having withdrawn from the field, on the 21st of September preceding, the contest rested solely between Mr. Lincoln, Republican, and General McClellan, Democrat. It resulted in the triumph of Mr. Lincoln in every loyal State, except Kentucky, New Jersey, and Delaware. These three States, altogether, gave to the Democratic candidate but twenty-one electoral votes; while the Republican candidate carried twenty-two States, giving him two hundred and thirteen electoral votes; thus allowing Mr. Lincoln a majority in the Electoral College of one hundred and ninety-two votes, although but one hundred and eighteen were all that were necessary to secure him the victory.

In some of the States their soldiers in the field were allowed to vote, the military vote, in such cases, being almost invariably cast for Lincoln and Johnson.

The official returns for the entire vote polled, summed up four million and thirty-four thousand, seven hundred and eighty-nine; of which Mr. Lincoln received two millions two hundred and twenty-three thousand and

thirty-five, and McClellan one million eight hundred and eleven thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, leaving a majority of four hundred and eleven thousand two hundred and eighty-one on the popular vote. Mr. Lincoln, who in 1860 was elected by a plurality vote, received in 1864 a most decided and unmistakable majority, being the sixth President of the United States who had been elected to serve a second term.

This gratifying result was accepted as a full indorsement of the policy of Mr. Lincoln's Administration, and the prosecution of the war received new vigor and strength, from this time forward.

At a late hour on the night of the election, the President was serenaded by a club of Pennsylvanians, who notified him of the fact of his being the choice of the people for a second term. He responded as follows:

"FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:—Even before I had been informed by you that this compliment was paid me by loyal citizens of Pennsylvania friendly to me, I had inferred that you were of that portion of my countrymen who think that the best interests of the nation are to be subserved by the support of the present Administration. I do not pretend to say that you, who think so, embrace all the patriotism and loyalty of the country; but I do believe, and I trust without personal interest, that the welfare of the country does require that such support and indorsement be given. I earnestly believe that the consequences of this day's work, if it be as you assume, and as now seems probable, will be to the lasting advantage if not to the very salvation of the country. I cannot, at this hour, say what has been the result of the election, but whatever it may be, I have no desire to modify this opinion: that all who have labored to-day in behalf of the Union organization, have wrought for the best interest of their country and the

world, not only for the present but for all future ages. *I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity.*"

CHAPTER XV.

FROM MR. LINCOLN'S RE-ELECTION TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

The Annual Message of 1864–5.—The Fortress Monroe Peace Negotiations.—Mr. Lincoln's and Mr. Seward's accounts of the Conference.—The account given by one of the Rebel Commissioners, Hon. Alexander S. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy.—Mr. Lincoln's Inauguration, March 4th, 1865.—His second Inaugural Address.—*Military Events.*—Sherman's March to Savannah.—Thomas's defeat of Hood.—The Expeditions against Wilmington.—Operations of the Army of the Potomac against Richmond and Petersburg.—Capture of these Cities.—Lee's flight, pursuit, and defeat.—He surrenders to General Grant.—Sherman's March through the Carolinas.—He receives Johnston's surrender.—*Collapse of the Rebellion.*—The President visits the Army.—Is present at the fall of Richmond.—Enters that City.—Returns to Washington.—His last Speech to the People, on occasion of the public rejoicings at Washington.

BOTH Houses of Congress assembled on Monday, the fifth of December, 1864, and after some preliminary business, adjourned to Tuesday, when the following message was received from the President:

"FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:—Again the blessings of health and abundant harvests claim our profoundest gratitude to Almighty God.

"The condition of our foreign affairs is reasonably satisfactory.

"Mexico continues to be a theatre of civil war. While our political relations with that country have undergone no change, we have at the same time strictly maintained neutrality between the belligerents.

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"Official correspondence has been freely opened with Liberia, and it gives us a pleasing view of social and political progress in that republic. It may be expected to derive new vigor from American influence, improved by the rapid disappearance of slavery in the United States. I solicit your authority to furnish to the republic a gunboat, at a moderate cost, to be reimbursed to the United States by instalments. Such a vessel is needed for the safety of that State against the native African races, and in Liberian hands it would be more effective in arresting the African slave trade than a squadron in our own hands.

"The possession of the least organized naval force would stimulate a generous ambition in the republic, and the confidence which we should manifest by furnishing it would win forbearance and favor toward the colony from all civilized nations.

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"I learn, with much satisfaction, that the noble design of a telegraphic communication between the eastern coast of America and Great Britain has been renewed, with full expectation of its early accomplishment.

"Thus it is hoped that with the return of domestic peace, the country will be able to resume with energy and advantage her former high career of commerce and civilization.

"The ports of Norfolk, Fernandina, and Pensacola have been opened by proclamation. It is hoped that foreign merchants will now consider whether it is not safe and more profitable to themselves, as well as just to the United States, to resort to these and other open ports, than it is to pursue, through many hazards, and at vast cost, a contraband trade with other ports which are closed, if not by actual military operations, at least by a lawful and effective blockade.

"For myself, I have no doubt of the power and duty of the Executive, under the law of nations, to exclude enemies of the human race from an asylum in the United States. If Congress

should think that proceedings in such cases lack the authority of law, or ought to be further regulated by it, I recommend that provision be made for effectually preventing foreign slave-traders from acquiring domicile and facilities for their criminal occupation in our country.

"It is possible that if this were a new and open question, the maritime powers, with the light they now enjoy, would not concede the privileges of a naval belligerent to the insurgents of the United States, destitute as they are and always have been, equally of ships and of ports and harbors. Disloyal emissaries have been neither less assiduous nor more successful during the last year than they were before that time, in their efforts, under favor of that privilege, to embroil our country in foreign wars. The desire and determination of the maritime States to defeat that design are believed to be as sincere as, and cannot be more earnest than our own.

"Nevertheless, unforeseen difficulties have arisen, especially in Brazilian and British ports, and on the northern boundary of the United States, which have required and are likely to continue to require the practice of constant vigilance, and a just and conciliatory spirit on the part of the United States, as well as of the nations concerned and their governments. Commissioners have been appointed under the treaty with Great Britain, on the adjustment of the claims of the Hudson Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies in Oregon, and are now proceeding to the execution of the trust assigned them.

"In view of the insecurity of life in the region adjacent to the Canadian border by recent assaults and depredations committed by inimical and desperate persons who are harbored there, it has been thought proper to give notice that after the expiration of six months, the period conditionally stipulated in the existing arrangements with Great Britain, the United States must hold themselves at liberty to increase their naval armament upon the lakes, if they shall find that proceeding necessary. The condition of the border will necessarily come into con-

sideration in connection with the continuing or modifying the rights of transit from Canada through the United States, as well as the regulation of imposts, which were temporarily established by the Reciprocity Treaty of the 5th of June, 1864. I desire, however, to be understood, while making this statement, that the colonial authorities are not deemed to be intentionally unjust or unfriendly towards the United States, but, on the contrary, there is every reason to expect that with the approval of the Imperial Government, they will take the necessary measures to prevent new incursions across the border.

"The act passed at the last session for the encouragement of emigration, has, as far as was possible, been put into operation. It seems to need an amendment which will enable the officers of the government to prevent the practice of frauds against the immigrants while on their way and on their arrival in the ports, so as to secure them here a free choice of avocations and places of settlement. A liberal disposition towards this great national policy is manifested by most of the European States, and ought to be reciprocated on our part by giving the immigrants effective national protection. I regard our immigrants as one of the principal replenishing streams which are appointed by providence to repair the ravages of internal war, and its wastes of national strength and health. All that is necessary is to secure the flow of that stream in its present fullness, and to that end the government must, in every way, make it manifest that it neither needs nor designs to impose involuntary military service upon those who come from other lands to cast their lot in our country.

"The financial affairs of the government have been successfully administered.

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"The public debt on the first day of July last, as appears by the books of the Treasury, amounted to one billion seven hundred and forty million six hundred and ninety thousand

four hundred and eighty-nine dollars and forty-nine cents. Probably, should the war continue for another year, that amount may be increased by not far from five hundred millions. Held as it is for the most part by our own people, it has become a substantial branch of national though private property.

"For obvious reasons, the more nearly this property can be distributed among all the people, the better to favor such a general distribution, greater inducements to become owners might, perhaps, with good effect and without injury, be presented to persons of limited means. With this view, I suggest whether it might not be both expedient and competent for Congress to provide that a limited amount of some future issue of public securities might be held by any bona fide purchaser exempt from taxation and from seizure for debt, under such restrictions and limitation as might be necessary to guard against abuse of so important a privilege. This would enable prudent persons to set aside a small amount against a possible day of want.

"Privileges like these would render the possession of such securities to the amount limited most desirable to every person of small means, who might be able to save enough for the purpose. The great advantage of citizens being creditors as well as debtors, with relation to the public debt, is obvious. Men readily perceive that they cannot be much oppressed by a debt which they owe to themselves.

"The public debt on the first day of July last, although somewhat exceeding the estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury made to Congress at the commencement of last session, falls short of the estimate of that officer made in the succeeding December as to its probable amount at the beginning of this year, by the sum of three million nine hundred and ninety-five thousand and seventy-nine dollars and thirty-three cents. This fact exhibits a satisfactory condition and conduct of the operations of the Treasury.

"The national banking system is proving to be acceptable to capitalists and to the people. On the 25th day of November, five hundred and eighty-four national banks had been organized, a considerable number of which were conversions from State banks. Changes from the State system to the national system are rapidly taking place, and it is hoped that very soon there will be in the United States no banks of issue not authorized by Congress, and no bank-note circulation not secured by the government. That the government and the people will derive general benefit from this change in the banking systems of the country can hardly be questioned. The national system will create a reliable and permanent influence in support of the national credit and protect the people against losses in the use of paper money. Whether or not any further legislation is advisable for the suppression of State bank issues, it will be for Congress to determine. It seems quite clear that the Treasury cannot be satisfactorily conducted unless the government can exercise a restraining power over the bank-note circulation of the country.

"The report of the Secretary of War and the accompanying documents will detail the campaigns of the armies in the field since the date of the last annual message, and also the operations of the several administrative bureaux of the War Department during the last year. It will also specify the measures deemed essential for the national defence, and to keep up and supply the requisite military force.

"The report of the Secretary of the Navy presents a comprehensive and satisfactory exhibit of the affairs of that department, and of the naval service. It is a subject of congratulation and laudable pride to our countrymen, that a navy of such vast proportions has been organized in so brief a period, and conducted with so much efficiency and success.

"The general exhibit of the navy, including vessels under construction on the first of December, 1864, shows a total of six hundred and seventy-one vessels, carrying four thousand six hundred and ten guns and five hundred and ten thousand three

hundred and ninety-six tons, being an actual increase during the year over and above all losses by shipwreck or in battle of eighty-three vessels, one hundred and sixty-seven guns, and forty-two thousand four hundred and twenty-seven tons. The total number of men at this time in the naval service, including officers, is about fifty-one thousand. There have been captured by the navy during the year, three hundred and twenty-four veseels, and the whole number of naval captures since hostilities commenced is one thousand three hundred and seventy-nine, of which two hundred and sixty-seven are steamers. The gross proceeds arising from the sale of condemned prize property thus far reported, amount to fourteen million three hundred and ninety-six thousand two hundred and fifty dollars and fifty-one cents. A large amount of such proceeds is still under adjudication, and yet to be reported. The total expenditures of the Navy Department, of every description, including the cost of the immense squadrons that have been called into existence from the 4th of March, 1861, to the first of November, 1864, are two hundred and thirty-eight million six hundred and forty-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-two dollars and thirty-five cents.

* * * * *

"It is of noteworthy interest that the steady expansion of population, improvement, and governmental institutions over the new and unoccupied portions of our country have scarcely been checked, much less impeded or destroyed by our great civil war, which, at first glance, would seem to have absorbed almost the entire energies of the nation.

"The organization and admission of the State of Nevada has been completed, in conformity with law, and thus our excellent system is firmly established in the mountains which once seemed a barren and uninhabitable waste between the Atlantic States and those which have grown up on the coast of the Pacific ocean.

"The Territories of the Union are generally in a condition of

prosperity and growth. Idaho and Montana, by reason of their great distance and the interruption of communication with them by Indian hostilities, have been only partially organized; but it is understood that these difficulties are about to disappear, which will permit their governments, like those of the others, to go into speedy and full operation.

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"The liberal provisions made by Congress for paying pensions to invalid soldiers and sailors of the republic, and to the widows, orphans, and dependent mothers of those who have fallen in battle or died of disease contracted, or of wounds received in the service of their country, have been diligently administered. There have been added to the pension rolls during the year ending the 30th day of June last, the names of sixteen thousand seven hundred and seventy invalid soldiers, and of two hundred and seventy-one disabled seamen, making the present number of army invalid pensioners, twenty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, and of navy invalid pensioners, seven hundred and twelve. Of widows, orphans, and mothers, twenty-two thousand one hundred and ninety-eight have been placed on the army pension rolls, and two hundred and forty-eight on the navy rolls. The present number of army pensioners of this class, is twenty-five thousand four hundred and thirty-three, and of navy pensioners, seven hundred and ninety-three. At the beginning of the year, the number of revolutionary pensioners was one thousand four hundred and thirty. Only twelve of them were soldiers, of whom seven have since died. The remainder are those who, under the law, receive pensions because of relationship to revolutionary soldiers. During the year ending the 30th of June, 1864, four million five hundred and four thousand six hundred and sixteen dollars and ninety-two cents have been paid to pensioners of all classes.

"I cheerfully commend to your continued patronage, the benevolent institutions of the District of Columbia, which have

hitherto been established or fostered by Congress, and respectfully refer for information concerning them, and in relation to the Washington Aqueduct, the Capitol, and other matters of local interest, to the report of the Secretary.

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"The war continues. Since the last annual message, all the important lines and positions then occupied by our forces have been maintained, and our armies have steadily advanced, thus liberating the regions left in the rear, so that Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and parts of other States have again produced reasonably fair crops.

"The most remarkable feature in the military operations of the year, is General Sherman's attempted march of three hundred miles directly through the insurgent region. It tends to show a great increase of our relative strength, that our General-in-Chief should feel able to confront and hold in check every active force of the enemy, and yet to detach a well-appointed, large army to move on such an expedition. The result not yet being known, conjecture in regard to it is not here indulged.

"Important movements have also occurred during the year to the effect of moulding society for durability in the Union—although short of complete success, it is so much in the right direction, that twelve thousand citizens in each of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana, have organized loyal State governments with free constitutions, and are earnestly struggling to maintain and administer them. The movement in the same direction, more extensive though less definite, in Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee, should not be overlooked. But Maryland presents the example of complete success. Maryland is secure to liberty and union for all the future. The genius of rebellion will no more claim Maryland. Like another foul spirit, being driven out, it may seek to tear her, but it will rule her no more.

"At the last session of Congress, a proposed amendment of

the Constitution abolishing slavery throughout the United States, passed the Senate, but failed for lack of the requisite two-thirds vote, in the House of Representatives. Although the present is the same Congress, and without questioning the wisdom or patriotism of those who stood in opposition, I venture to recommend the consideration and passage of the measure at the present session.

"Of course the abstract question is not changed, but an intervening election shows almost certainly that the next Congress will pass the measure if this does not. Hence there is only a question of time as to when the proposed amendment will go to the States for their action, and as it is to go at all events, may we not agree that the sooner the better. It is not claimed that the election has imposed a duty on members to change their views or their votes any further than as an additional element to be considered. Their judgment may be affected by it. It is the voice of the people now for the first time heard upon the question. In a great national crisis like ours, unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable, almost indispensable, and yet no approach to such unanimity is attainable unless some deference shall be paid to the will of the majority, simply because it is the will of the majority. In this case the common end is the maintenance of the Union, and among the means to secure that end, such will, through the election, is most clearly declared in favor of such constitutional amendment.

"The most reliable indication of public purpose in this country is derived through our popular elections. Judging by the recent canvass and its result, the purpose of the people, within the loyal States, to maintain the integrity of the Union, was never more firm nor more nearly unanimous than now.

"The extraordinary calmness and good order with which the millions of voters met and mingled at the polls, give strong assurance of this. Not only those who supported the 'Union ticket' (so-called), but a great majority of the opposing party

also, may be fairly claimed to entertain and to be actuated by the same purpose. It is an unanswerable argument to this effect that no candidate for any office whatever, high or low, has ventured to seek votes on the avowal that he was for giving up the Union.

"There has been much heated controversy as to the proper means and best mode of advancing the Union cause, but in the distinct issue of Union or no Union, the politicians have shown their instinctive knowledge that there is no diversity among the people. In affording the people a fair opportunity of showing one to another, and to the world, this firmness and unanimity of purpose, the election has been of vast value to the national cause.

"The election has exhibited another fact not less valuable to be known—the fact that we do not approach exhaustion in the most important branch of the national resources, that of living men. While it is melancholy to reflect that the war has filled so many graves and carried mourning to so many hearts, it is some relief to know that, compared with the surviving, the fallen have been so few. While corps, and divisions, and brigades, and regiments have formed and fought, and dwindled and gone out of existence, a great majority of the men who composed them are still living. The same is true of the naval service. The election returns prove this. So many voters could not else be found. The States regularly holding elections, both now and four years ago, to wit: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, cast three million nine hundred and eighty-two thousand and eleven votes now against three million eight hundred and seventy thousand two hundred and twenty-two cast then, showing an aggregate now of thirty-three million nine hundred and eighty-two thousand and eleven, to which is to be added,

thirty-three thousand seven hundred and sixty-two cast now in the new States of Kansas and Nevada, which did not vote in 1860. Thus swelling the aggregate to four million fifteen thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, and the net increase during the three years and a half of war, to one hundred and forty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty-one.

"To this, again, should be added the number of all soldiers in the field from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois and California, who, by the laws of those States, could not vote away from their homes, and which number cannot be less than ninety thousand. Nor yet is this all. The number in organized Territories is triple now what it was four years ago, while thousands—white and black—join us as the national arms press back the insurgent lines. So much is shown affirmatively and negatively by the election.

"It is not material to inquire how the increase has been produced, or to show that it would have been greater but for the war, which is probably true; the important fact remains demonstrated that we have more men now than we had when the war began; that we are not exhausted, nor in process of exhaustion; that we are gaining strength, and may, if need be, maintain the contest indefinitely. This as to men. Natural resources are now more complete and abundant than ever. The national resources, then, are unexhausted, and we believe inexhaustible. The public purpose to re-establish and maintain the national authority is unchanged, and, as we believe, unchangeable. The manner of continuing the effort remains to choose.

"On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept of nothing short of the severance of the Union. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft-repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. We cannot voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple and inflexible. It is an issue which can only

be tried by war, and decided by victory. If we yield we are beaten; if the southern people fail him, he is beaten—either way it would be the victory and defeat following war. What is true, however, of him who heads the insurgent cause, is not necessarily true of those who follow. Although he cannot reaccept the Union, they can. Some of them, we know, already desire peace and reunion. The number of such may increase. They can at any moment have peace simply by laying down their arms, and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution. After so much the government could not, if it would, maintain war against them. The loyal people would not sustain or allow it. If questions should remain, we would adjust them by the peaceful means of legislation, courts, and votes.

"Operating only in constitutional and lawful channels, some certain and other possible questions are and would be beyond the executive power to adjust; for instance, the admission of members into Congress, and whatever might require the appropriation of money. The executive power itself would be really diminished by the cessation of actual war. Pardons and remissions of forfeiture, however, would still be within executive control. In what spirit and temper this control would be exercised, can be fairly judged of by the past. A year ago general pardon and amnesty upon specified terms were offered to all except certain designated classes, and it was at the same time made known that the excepted classes were still within contemplation of special clemency. During the year many availed themselves of the general provision, and many more would, only that the signs of bad faith in some led to such precautionary measures as rendered the practical process less easy and certain. During the same time, also, special pardons have been granted to individuals of excepted classes, and no voluntary application has been denied. Thus, practically, the door has been for a full year open to all, except such as were not in condition to make free choice; that is, such as were in custody

or under constraint. It is still so open to all, but the time may come, probably will come, when public duty shall demand that it be closed, and that in lieu more rigorous measures than heretofore shall be adopted.

"In presenting the abandonment of armed resistance to the national authority, on the part of the insurgents, as the only indispensable condition to ending the war on the part of the government, I retract nothing heretofore said as to slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that, while I remain in my present position, I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation. Nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by the acts of Congress.

"If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it. In stating a single condition of peace, I mean simply to say, that the war will cease on the part of the government, whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The covert attempt to negotiate for favorable terms having failed, the rebel government, well aware of its waning power, made a more open advance to our government, which resulted in the famous "Peace Conference," held in Hampton Roads, in the early part of February, 1865. In order to gain a clear understanding of this whole affair, it may be stated that on December the 28th, 1864, Mr. Lincoln had furnished F. P. Blair, Sen., a pass to enter the southern lines and return; especially stipulating, however, that he should in no way treat with the rebels, in behalf of the government. Mr. Blair, on his return, brought a letter from Jefferson Davis, dated January 12th, 1865, in which he stated

that he was willing "to enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace," that he would appoint a commissioner, "and renew the effort to enter into a conference, with a view to secure peace *to the two countries.*"

Mr. Lincoln's reply to this was as follows:

"WASHINGTON, *January* 18*th*, 1865.

"F. P. BLAIR, ESQ.—*Sir:* You having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th inst., you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue ready to receive any agent, whom he or any other influential person now resisting the national authority, may informally send me with a view of securing peace *to the people of our common country.*

"Yours, etc., A. LINCOLN."

This message, when shown to Davis, was interpreted by him—as Mr. Lincoln evidently intended it should be—viz: as expressing a firm determination, however anxious for peace, not to recognize, even tacitly, the assumption of the independence of the rebellious Confederacy.

In the early part of the ensuing month, February, the national government received an application for permission for the Confederate Vice President, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia; the President of the rebel Senate, Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, and Hon. J. A. Campbell, of Alabama, the rebel Assistant Secretary of War, to enter the Union lines as *quasi* commissioners from the rebel government to confer informally with the President at Washington, in order "to ascertain upon what terms the war could be terminated honorably." Permission was granted, with the understanding that the parties named were not to be allowed to land, a fact which caused much annoyance to the rebel

agents, who made no secret of their desire to visit Washington.

They were furnished quarters on board a steamer, anchored in Hampton Roads, off Fortress Monroe, and the Secretary of State was sent, by the President, to meet them with the following instructions:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *January* 31, 1865.

"Hon. WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State:

"You will proceed to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, there to meet and informally confer with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, on the basis of my letter to F. P. Blair, Esq., of January 18th, 1865, a copy of which you have. You will make known to them that three things are indispensable, to wit: *First, the restoration of the national authority throughout all the States; second, no receding by the Executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in the preceding documents; no cessation of hostilities short of the end of the war, and the disbanding of all the forces hostile to the government.* You will inform them that all propositions of theirs, not inconsistent with the above, will be considered, and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say, and repeat it to me. You will not assume definitely to consummate any thing.

Yours, etc.,

"A. LINCOLN."

The next morning, February 1st, in order to prevent any attempt at trickery by the rebels, he sent a cipher despatch to General Grant, informing him that nothing then transpiring was to "change, hinder, or delay" any of his military movements or plans.

In reply, General Grant intimated to Secretary Stanton that it might be as well if the President could personally be present at the conference, as he, the gen-

eral, believed "their desire sincere to restore peace and Union," alluding to the three commissioners. To which Mr. Lincoln, ever desirous for peace, telegraphed, on the morning of February 2d, to Secretary Seward, as follows: "Induced by a despatch from General Grant, I join you at Fortress Monroe as soon as I can come;" while to General Grant he telegraphed: "Say to the gentlemen that I will meet them personally at Fortress Monroe, as soon as I can get there."

He reached the fortress on the night of February 2d, plainly showing that he had delayed no time when he believed a peace could be obtained upon the basis of the Union, and next morning, February 3d, joined the Secretary of State and Major Eckert on board the steamer River Queen, then anchored in the "Roads."

The commissioners then came on board and held a conference with the President and his Secretary, which lasted four hours, and was perfectly friendly and good-tempered throughout. Not a word was said on either side indicating any but amicable sentiments. On our side the conversation was mainly conducted by the President; on theirs by Mr. Hunter, Mr. Stephens occasionally taking part. The commissioners said nothing whatever of their personal views or wishes; speaking solely and exclusively for their government, and, at the outset and throughout the conference, declaring their entire lack of authority to make, receive, or consider any proposition whatever looking toward a close of the war, except on the basis of a recognition of the independence of the Confederate States as a preliminary condition. The President presented the subject to them in every conceivable form, suggesting the most liberal and

considerate modification of whatever, in the existing legislation and action of the United States Government, might be regarded as specially hostile to the rights and interests, or wounding the pride of the southern people —but in no particular could he induce them to swerve, even for a moment, from their demand for recognition. They did not, however, express this as their own conviction or wish, but as the condition which their instructions rendered absolutely indispensable to any negotiations or discussions whatever concerning peace.

The President on the other hand refused, at every point, to entertain the idea of any such recognition for a moment, affirming that the United States could only stop the war and arrest, even temporarily, the movement of its armies, on the condition of the recognition of the authority of the national government over the whole territory of the United States. This point conceded he assured them that in other minor matters of difference they would meet with the utmost liberality; but without that recognition the war must and would go on.

Upon this radical and irreconcilable difference, the whole discussion turned, and, as neither side could be swerved from its position, the attempt at negotiation came to a futile end—and the parties separated, distinctly understanding that the attitude and action of each government was not, in the slightest degree, affected or changed by the conference.*

* The spirit and result of this conference is thus stated by Mr. Lincoln himself, in his Report (January 16th, 1865), accompanying the documents furnished in response to a resolution of enquiry by the House.

"On the morning of the 3d the three gentlemen, Messrs. Stephens,

Since the suppression of the rebellion, Mr. Stephens' account of the celebrated conference has come to light,

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Hunter and Campbell, came aboard of our steamer, and had an interview with the Secretary of State and myself of several hours duration. No question of preliminaries to the meeting was then and there made or mentioned. No other person was present. No papers were exchanged or produced, and it was in advance agreed that the conversation was to be informal and verbal merely. On our part the whole substance of the instructions to the Secretary of State hereinbefore recited was stated and insisted upon, and nothing was said inconsistent therewith. While by the other party it was not said that in any event or on any condition they ever would consent to reunion; and yet they equally omitted to declare they would so consent. They seemed to desire a postponement of that question, and the adoption of some other course first, which as some of them seemed to argue might or might not lead to reunion, but which course we thought would amount to an indefinite postponement. The conference ended without result."

The Secretary of State thus describes the interview in a letter to Mr. Adams, our minister in England, under date of February 9th, 1865:

"The conference was altogether informal. There was no attendance of secretaries, clerks or other witnesses. Nothing was written or read. The conversation, though earnest and free, was calm and courteous and kind on both sides. The Richmond party approached the discussion rather indirectly, and at no time did they make categorical demands or tender formal stipulations or absolute refusals.

"Nevertheless, during the conference—which lasted four hours—the several points at issue between the government and the insurgents were distinctly raised and discussed fully, intelligently, and in an amicable spirit. What the insurgent party seemed chiefly to favor was a postponement of the question of separation upon which the war is waged, and a mutual direction of the efforts of the government as well as those of the insurgents to some extrinsic policy or scheme for a season; during which passions might be expected to subside and the armies be reduced, and trade and intercourse between the people of both sections be resumed. It was suggested by them that through such postponement we might now have immediate peace, with some not very certain prospect of an ultimate satisfactory adjustment of political relations between the government, and the States, section or people now engaged in conflict with it.

"The suggestion, though deliberately considered, was, nevertheless, regarded by the President as one of armistice or truce, and he announced

and we copy portions of it from the *Augusta* (*Georgia*), *Chronicle*, of June 17th, 1865.

"STATEMENT BY ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

"We have before stated that Mr. Davis, late President of the States engaged in the Rebellion, had not communicated to the people who had elected him, and trusted him, the truth in regard to the famed Fortress Monroe Conference.

"Now that the aforesaid Davis has no longer power to arrest

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that we can agree to no cessation or suspension of hostilities except on the basis of the disbandment of the insurgent forces and the restoration of the national authority throughout all the States in the Union. Collaterally and in subordination to the proposition which was thus announced the anti-slavery policy of the United States was reviewed in all its bearings, and the President announced that he must not be expected to depart from the positions he had heretofore assumed in his Proclamation of Emancipation and other documents, as these positions were reiterated in his annual message.

"It was further declared by the President that the complete restoration of the national authority everywhere was an indispensable condition of any assent on our part to whatever form of peace might be proposed. The President assured the other party that while he must adhere to these positions, he would be prepared so far as power is lodged with the Executive to exercise liberality. Its power, however, is limited by the Constitution, and, when peace should be made, Congress must necessarily act in regard to appropriations of money and to the admission of representatives from the insurrectionary States.

"The Richmond party were then informed that Congress had, on the 31st ult., adopted by a constitutional majority a joint resolution submitting to the several States the proposition to abolish slavery throughout the Union, and that there is every reason to expect that it will be accepted by three-fourths of the States, so as to become a part of the national organic law.

"The conference came to an end by mutual acquiescence, without producing an agreement of views upon the several matters discussed or any of them. Nevertheless, it is perhaps of some importance that we have been able to submit our opinions and views directly to prominent insurgents, and to hear them in answer in a courteous and not unfriendly manner."

and confine persons without the benefit of habeas corpus; or his organs to instigate mobs of soldiers and irresponsible men to threaten destruction to life and private property; or officials to arrest persons and suppress papers for publications without his sanction, it may be as well to let people know the truth.

"We will now give the history of the convention as nearly as we can remember it from the statement of Mr. Stephens to us directly after his return.

"A PRIVATE CONFERENCE DECLARED IMPERATIVE BY STEPHENS.

"Mr. Davis sent for him to communicate the information that Mr. Blair desired a conference between the authorities of the United States and the southern States upon the subject of peace, and Mr. Stephens' advice was asked. He promptly replied that if Mr. Blair spoke by authority of President Lincoln, he most earnestly advised the conference. But that, as the terms of peace, if favorable to the South, would awaken angry debate from the radical men of the North, and a failure to get terms but dishearten our own people, he recommended, first, that the strictest secrecy be used; second, that the parties to the conference be President Lincoln and Mr. Davis, and that Generals Grant and Lee be the only ones to even know of the meeting.

"The advice was taken as usual in Richmond—disregarded altogether—and by officially telegraphing the news to every corner of the late so-called Confederacy. Two days later Mr. Stephens was surprised by the information from Mr. Benjamin that a committee of three were to go, consisting of Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President; R. M. T. Hunter, Senator from Virginia; and John A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War. Mr. Stephens saw at once that to refuse to go would subject him to unfriendly remarks, and that probably he would have the responsibility of failure to make peace thrown upon his shoulders. So he went, merely remarking to Mr. Campbell,

'that the old story of the monkey that took the paw of the cat to pull his chestnuts out of the fire was not without some modern illustrations;' to which Mr. Campbell said that 'he thought so too, and did not like it.'

"PEACE DESIRED BY BOTH ARMIES.

"The flag of truce and the loud and prolonged cheers of both armies, that gave the lie to the statement of southern administration organs that the veterans were opposed to peace, and the two day's enjoyment of the hospitality of that glorious soldier Grant, are history well known. Probably but for the indorsement of the peace wishes of Stephens and Hunter by General Grant, the interview would not have been granted. The reason why the general did not include Mr. Campbell in the indorsement was, that Mr. Campbell was perfectly satisfied that the country was whipped then, and prepared to take what he could get, and therefore did not talk; while Mr. Hunter, who was not much for reconstruction, talked the most.

"THE CONFERENCE.

"The three southern gentlemen met Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward, and after some preliminary remarks, the subject of peace was opened. Mr. Stephens, well aware that one who asks much may get more than he who confesses to humble wishes at the outset, urged the claims of his section with that skill and address for which the northern papers have given him credit. Mr. Lincoln, holding the vantage-ground of conscious power, was, however, perfectly frank, and submitted his views almost in the form of an argument.

"THE REPORT OF THE REBEL COMMISSIONERS.

"The report of Messrs. Stephens, Hunter and Campbell we give as follows:

"'RICHMOND, *Feb.* 6, 1865.

"'TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES:

"'SIR:—Under your letter of appointment as commissioners,

of the 28th ult., we proceeded to seek an informal conference with Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, upon the subject mentioned in the letter. Conference was granted, and took place on the 30th of December, on board a steamer anchored in Hampton Roads, where we met President Lincoln and the Hon. Mr. Seward, Secretary of State for the United States. It continued for several hours, and was both full and explicit.

"'We learned from them that the message of President Lincoln to the Congress of the United States in December last, explains clearly his sentiments as to the terms, conditions, and mode of procedure by which peace can be secured to the people, and we are not informed that they would be modified or altered to obtain that end. We understand from him that no terms or proposals of any treaty or agreement looking to the ultimate settlement would be entertained or made by him with the authorities of the Confederate States, because that would be a recognition of their existence as a separate power, which under no circumstances would be done. And for like reasons, that no such terms would be entertained by him from separate States; that no extended truce or armistice, as at present advised, would be granted or allowed, without satisfactory assurance, in advance, of the complete restoration of the authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States over all places within the States of the Confederacy.'

"This appears to have been the principal topic of discussion. Davis had on this occasion, as on that of Mr. Stephens' visit to Washington, made it a condition that no conference should be had unless his rank as commander or President should first be recognized. Mr. Lincoln declared that the only ground on which he could rest the justice of the war—either with his own people or with foreign powers—was that it was not a war for conquest, but that the States had never been separated from the Union. Consequently, he could not recognize another government inside of the one of which he alone was President, nor

admit the separate independence of States that were yet a part of the Union. 'That,' said he, 'would be doing what you have so long asked Europe to do in vain, and be resigning the only thing the armies of the Union are fighting for.'

"MR. LINCOLN SUPPRESSES HUNTER—A HARD HIT.

"Mr. Hunter made a long reply, insisting that the recognition of Davis's power to make a treaty was the first and indispensable step to peace, and referring to the correspondence between King Charles I. and his parliament as a trustworthy precedent of a constitutional ruler treating with rebels.

"Mr. Lincoln's face then wore that indescribable expresssion which generally preceded his hardest hits, and he remarked:—'Upon questions of history I must refer you to Mr. Seward, for he is posted in such things, and I don't pretend to be bright. My only distinct recollection of the matter is, that Charles lost his head.' That settled Mr. Hunter for a while.

"'UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER.'

"Little appears to have been said about an armistice. Mr. Lincoln persisted in his declaration that the country demanded the restoration of the Union and its laws. The report goes on:

"'Mr. Lincoln remarked that whatever consequences may follow from the re-establishment of that authority must be accepted; but individuals subject to pains and penalties under the laws of the United States, might rely upon a very liberal use of the powers confided to him to remit those pains and penalties if peace be restored.

"'Limited as he was by the Constitution, he could not change or impair the power of Congress, nor abolish its laws, nor stay the judgments of the courts; for the legislative and judicial power had coequal jurisdiction with the executive. But he did offer all the power of mercy, and pardon, and influence, both as the Chief Magistrate and as a popular party leader,

and that is a better offer than rebels on the eve of destruction and ruin ever had before from a victorious power.'

"SOME GOOD ADVICE BY THE PRESIDENT—A CHARACTERISTIC REMARK.

"During the interview it appears that Hunter declared that he had never entertained any fears for his person or life from so mild a government as that of the United States. To which Mr. Lincoln retorted that he, also, had felt easy as to the rebels, but not always so easy about the lamp-posts around Washington city—a hint that he had already done more favors for the rebels than was exactly popular with the radical men of his own party.

"Mr. Lincoln's manner had now grown more positive. He suggested that it would be better for the rebel States to return at once than to risk the chances of continuing the war, and the increasing bitterness of feeling in Congress. The time might come, he said, when they would not be considered as an erring people invited back to citizenship, but would be looked upon as enemies to be exterminated or ruined.

"DISCUSSION UPON THE ANTI-SLAVERY AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

"During the conference, the amendment to the Federal Constitution, which has just been adopted by Congress, was read, providing that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crimes, should exist within the United States, or any place within its jurisdiction, and Congress should have power to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation. The report says:

"Mr. Seward then remarked: 'Mr. President, it is as well to inform these gentlemen that yesterday Congress acted upon the amendment of the Constitution abolishing slavery.'

"Mr. Lincoln stated that was true, and suggested that there was a question as to the right of the insurgent States to return

at once and claim a right to vote upon the amendment, to which the concurrence of two thirds of the State was required. He stated that it would be desirable to have the institution of slavery abolished by the consent of the people as soon as possible—he hoped within six years. He also stated that four hundred millions of dollars might be offered as compensation to the owners, and remarked, 'You would be surprised were I to give you the names of those who favored that.'

"THE 'ROOT HOG' STORY.

"Mr. Hunter said something about the inhumanity of leaving so many poor old negroes and young children destitute by encouraging the able-bodied negroes to run away, and asked, what are they—the helpless—to do?

"Mr. Lincoln said that reminded him of an old friend in Illinois, who had a crop of potatoes, and did not want to dig them. So he told a neighbor that he would turn in his hogs, and let them dig them for themselves. 'But,' said the neighbor, 'the frost will soon be in the ground, and when the soil is hard frozen, what will they do then?' To which the worthy farmer replied, 'Let 'em root.'

"Mr. Stephens said he supposed that was the original of 'Root, Hog, or Die,' and a fair indication of the future of the negroes.

"Of all correspondence that preceded the conference herein mentioned, and leading to same, you have heretofore been informed. Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

(Signed) "ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS,
"R. M. T. HUNTER,
"JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

"The commissioners remark that all that is known of this correspondence they 'have from the report of Mr. Seward, as Mr. Davis never favored them with it.' Mr. Stephens reported to Mr. Davis that nothing had been done, that nothing was determined, and that if he relied upon the sincerity of Mr.

Blair, the conference was but a confirmation of the desire for peace on the part of the United States, and the way opened for settlement. Mr. Davis, however, looked upon the proposals as insulting, and seemed to have the concurrence of Mr. Hunter in that view—somewhat. He wished a statement to go before the public that only insulting terms were tendered; but the commissioners declined to make it, on the ground that it was not true.

"HOW DAVIS DOCTORED THE REPORT.

"With some difficulty they secured the reception of the brief and perfectly truthful, but not very clear, report that was published, and Mr. Davis put the coloring to it, and endeavored to secure his object of crushing the great southern peace party by an inflammatory despatch all over the country, followed by the actual report, with the following ingenious preface, written by himself:

"'EXECUTIVE OFFICE, RICHMOND, *February* 6, 1865.

"'TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES:—I recently received a written notification which satisfied me that the President of the United States was disposed to confer informally with any official agents that might be sent by me with a view to the restoration of peace. I requested the Hon. A. H. Stephens, Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, and Hon. John A. Campbell, to proceed through our lines and hold conference with Lincoln, or such persons as he might depute to represent him.

"'I herewith submit, for the information of Congress, the report of these eminent citizens above named, showing that the enemy refused to enter into negotiations with the Confederate States, or any of them separately, or give our people any other terms or guarantees than those which Congress may grant, or to permit us to have a vote on any other basis than our unconditional submission to their rule, coupled with the acceptance of their recent legislation, including the amendment to the

Constitution emancipating all negro slaves; and with the right, on the part of the Federal Congress, to legislate on the subject of the relations between the white and black populations in each State. Such is, as I understand, the effect of the amendment to the Constitution which has been adopted by the Congress of the United States.

"'JEFFERSON DAVIS.'

"This was closely followed by mass-meetings in the capital and elsewhere. How strange it is that all these bloody-minded men, who advocated the 'black flag,' and 'no quarters,' upon our street corners, contented themselves with words? and with all this hate of Yankees, never undertook to find them at the front, where there have been lots of them to be found for four years. Mr. Davis said in one of those Richmond meetings in his speech: 'We will teach them that when they talk to us they talk to their masters.'

"FIRE-EATERS' LIES ABOUT STEPHENS.

"Mr. Stephens came home with a new cause of sorrow, and those who said he talked of coming home to make war-speeches and denounce the terms offered, simply lied. Before Mr. Lincoln's death, he thought he was doing a favor to him not to include that offer of four hundred millions in gold for the southern slaves, in the published report, for it would be used to the injury of Mr. Lincoln by those of his enemies who talk about taxation and the debt.

"MR. STEPHENS' OPINION OF MR. LINCOLN.

"Mr. Stephens has frequently expressed no apprehensions should the fortunes of war throw him into the hands of Mr. Lincoln, and said he would not get out of the way of a raid were it not for appearances, on account of the office he held. He spoke of Mr. Lincoln as an old friend who had generally voted with him in Congress, and who had a good heart and fine mind, and was undoubtedly honest."

* * * * * *

On the 4th of March, 1865, Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated for a second term of four years, to which he had been chosen by the people. As the day was rainy, the ceremonies began in the Senate chamber, which the official procession entered at twelve o'clock. The members of the Supreme Court first took their seats on the right of the Vice President's chair, soon after which Mr. Lincoln entered, escorted by Vice President Hamlin, and followed by the members of the Cabinet, the diplomatic corps, officers of the army and navy who have received the thanks of Congress, governors, etc. Vice President Hamlin briefly took his leave of the Senate, over which he presided for four years, and the oath of office was then administered to his successor, Andrew Johnson, and the Senators elect to the Thirty-ninth Congress. When this was concluded, the official procession again formed, and moved to the platform in front of the eastern front of the Capitol, where Mr. Lincoln pronounced the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

"Fellow Countrymen:—At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at first. Then a statement of a course to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper.

"Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

"The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hopes for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

"On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it; all sought to avoid it.

"While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war; seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came.

"One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it.

"These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the government claimed no right to more than restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

"Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

"Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we may not be judged. The prayer of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come, but woe unto the man by whom the offence cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offences

which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him?

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

"With malice toward no one, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The oath of office was then administered by Chief Justice Chase, and the reinaugurated President was escorted back to the White House.

The Presidential election having passed, public attention was once more absorbed by the operations of our army and navy, still occupied in every portion of the field, in carrying out the admirable plans inaugurated by the Lieutenant-General for the final overthrow of the rebellion.

In the Southwest, the rebel General Hood, rallying somewhat from the severe defeats which he had suffered, made an attempt to cut Sherman's communications with

his base. The latter giving him, as a decoy, every facility of doing so, sent General Thomas with two corps to watch him on the Tennessee river, and having thus lured him to a sufficient distance, destroyed the railroad between Chattanooga and Atlanta, and cutting boldly loose from his base at the latter point, commenced his grand march of nearly three hundred miles across the country to Savannah, which surrendered to him on the 22d of December. Hood, meantime, had rashly pushed after Thomas, who purposely drew him on, and after being severely whipped at Franklin, attempted to surround Nashville. On the 15th of December, however, he was attacked by the Union forces, and completely routed, having sustained a loss of nearly seventeen thousand men in these two engagements.

While Sherman and Thomas were dealing these tremendous blows in this portion of the Confederacy, General Grant was as ably fulfilling his part of the programme. On the 13th of December, he sent a combined military and naval expedition, under General Butler and Rear-Admiral Porter, to capture Wilmington. This, proving unsuccessful, was shortly followed by another, under command of General A. Terry, which gallantly accomplished its purpose, on the 15th of January, by the capture of Fort Fisher; thus effectually sealing the harbor which had, hitherto, been accessible to blockade-runners, to a greater degree, almost, than any other port on the coast. Early in February a forward movement was made by Grant, himself, with four corps of the Army of the Potomac, for the purpose of establishing his lines closer to the Weldon railroad. Thereupon ensued a desperate struggle of several days' duration, which resulted in a permanent

gain, held by the Union forces, of a position four miles in advance of their former one. Then followed, on the 25th of March, a successful attack, by the rebels, on Fort Steadman, near Petersburg, and the capture of its garrison; but the Union troops retook the fort, and gained and held in turn a portion of the rebel lines. Four days after this, General Grant undertook to give his foe the *coup de grace;* attacking with the Army of the Potomac in front, while the Army of the James forced the enemy's right flank; and Sheridan, with a large cavalry force, distracting Lee's attention by a blow at the junction of the Southside, Richmond and Danville railroads, suddenly wheeled, struck the southside railroad within ten miles of Petersburg, and tearing it up as he went, fell upon the rebel left flank. The four days of terrible conflict, which ensued, resulted in placing Petersburg completely at the mercy of the national armies. On the night of Sunday, April 2d, Petersburg and Richmond were evacuated, and both were occupied by the "brave boys in blue" the next morning, April 3d; the colored troops, under General Weitzel, having the honor of first entering the fallen rebel capital. Lee, having lost nearly half of his army,* and with the balance utterly demoralized, fled toward Danville, but finding his route obstructed turned toward Lynchburg, with General Grant in hot pursuit. On the 6th of April, he was overtaken by Sheridan and Meade, at Deatonville, and met with a crushing defeat. Seven of his generals and many thousands of his troops, with most of his guns, were captured. He made a futile attempt to escape with

* General Lee lost about eighteen thousand, who were taken prisoners, and very nearly eight to ten thousand in killed and wounded.

the remnant of his force, but finding every avenue of escape closed against him, was compelled to surrender on Sunday, the 9th of April, 1865, on the terms offered by his captor, General Grant. Thus the Confederacy received its death-blow.

Meanwhile, Sherman, moving northward from Savannah in two columns, flanked Charleston, S. C., and compelled its evacuation without the necessity of striking a blow; captured Columbia, Cheraw and Fayetteville, and being joined by Schofield's and Terry's armies occupied Goldsborough, only one hundred and fifty miles from Grant's army, and connected by a railroad which could be rapidly repaired. Between these two great armies of the Union there remained, after Lee's surrender, only General Johnston's daily weakening force, almost, if not quite, the only organized army of the rebellion, which seemed about to be crushed between the two, as between the upper and the nether millstone.

But Lee's surrender had virtually decided the existence of the Confederacy—it would have been folly and madness for the rebel chieftains to prolong a useless warfare, and the public heart, both North and South, was shortly gladdened by the news of Johnston's surrender to Sherman, on the 26th of April, and of Dick Taylor's trans-Mississippi army to General Canby on the 4th of May.

On the 24th of March, President Lincoln left Washington on a visit to the army, at the request, as has since been ascertained, of General Grant, who advised him to be present at the capture of the rebel capital; every thing being then in readiness for the last and closing movement of the campaign. From his quarters at City

Point, he telegraphed, on March 31st, the news of the victory of the previous day, on the Boydtown plank road; on April 1st and 2d he announced, through the Secretary of War, General Grant's successful movement on the left of his line, especially Sheridan's brilliant victories, and on April 3d, 1865, a brief despatch signed "A. Lincoln," electrified the country with the glorious intelligence that Richmond and Petersburg had fallen into our hands. The latter city he visited during the afternoon of the same day, and was well received by the citizens. On the day following he visited Richmond—which he unostentatiously entered on foot, merely attended by a small guard, and proceeded immediately to the late residence of the arch-traitor, Jefferson Davis, now the headquarters of the Union general in command, where, in the evening, he held a levee, at which he received, in his usual free and easy manner, the congratulations of his brave soldiers, and the visits of the citizens of the place.

This, to him, must have been an hour of joy unmingled. Long and anxious hours of care seemed now to be slipping from his shoulders, and brighter hours of hope and peace cast their radiance upon his heart and upon the future of his redeemed and beloved country. Well can we imagine that the emotions of that hour of triumph, albeit so modestly borne by Mr. Lincoln, amply repaid him for the long years of patient endurance, of hope deferred, of calumny and misrepresentation, of carking care and unprecedented responsibility, which it had been his lot to bear. His return to Washington had nothing to dampen this joy, for on the 9th of April, he was enabled to congratulate his countrymen on the surrender of Lee's

army, and the virtual close of the rebellion. But one great rebel army still stood at bay, that of Johnston; and its submission was merely a question of a few days' time. The impending draft, which had been the terror of the country, was promptly stopped, and the public heart began, almost too suddenly for realization—to breathe freer and happier in the anticipation of speedy peace. Under these circumstances it was but natural that the people should instinctively desire to congratulate their great leader, and to look upon his honest and care-worn countenance, now relaxed and beaming with a grateful sense of relief from anxiety. On the evening of the 11th of April, there was an impromptu gathering of the masses around the White House, and Washington was fairly ablaze with happiness and hope.

The Executive Departments, including the President's mansion, were illuminated, and adorned with transparencies and national flags, as were also many places of business and private dwellings. Bonfires blazed in different parts of the city, and rockets were fired. Thousands of persons of both sexes repaired to the executive mansion, and, after several airs had been played by the band, the President, in response to the numerous calls, appeared at an upper window. The cheering with which he was greeted having ceased, he spoke as follows, foreshadowing his policy of reconstruction:

"We meet this evening, not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army, give hopes of a righteous and speedy peace, whose joyous expression cannot be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all

blessings flow must not be forgotten. A call for a National Thanksgiving is being prepared, and will be duly promulgated. Nor must those whose harder part gives us the cause of rejoicing, be overlooked. Their honors must not be parcelled out with others. I, myself, was near the front, and had the high pleasure of transmitting much of the good news to you. But no part of the honor, for plan or execution, is mine. To General Grant, his skillful officers and brave men, all belong. The gallant navy stood ready, but was not in reach to take active part. By these recent successes, the reinauguration of the national authority—reconstruction, which has had a large share of thought from the first—is pressed much more closely upon our attention. It is fraught with great difficulty. Unlike a case of war between independent nations, there is no authorized organ for us to treat with. No one man has authority to give up the rebellion for any other man. We simply must begin with and mould from disorganized and discordant elements. Nor is it a small additional embarrassment, that we, the loyal people, differ among ourselves as to the mode, manner and measure of reconstruction. As a general rule, I abstain from reading the reports of attacks upon myself, wishing not to be provoked by that to which I cannot properly offer an answer. In spite of this precaution, however, it comes to my knowledge that I am much censured for some supposed agency in setting up and seeking to sustain the new State government of Louisiana. In this I have done just so much and no more than the public know. In the annual message of December, 1863, and the accompanying proclamation, I presented a plan of reconstruction—as the phrase goes—which I promised, if adopted by any State, would be acceptable to and sustained by the Executive Government of the nation. I distinctly stated that this was not the only plan which might possibly be acceptable; and I also distinctly protested that the Executive claimed no right to say who or whether members should be admitted to seats in Congress from such States. This plan was

in advance submitted to the then Cabinet, and approved by every member of it. One of them suggested that I should then, and in that connection, apply the Emancipation Proclamation to the theretofore excepted parts of Virginia and Louisiana; that I should drop the suggestion about apprenticeship for freed people; and that I should omit the protest against my own power in regard to the admission of members of Congress. But even he approved every part and parcel of the plan which has since been employed or touched by the action of Louisiana. The new constitution of Louisiana, declaring emancipation for the whole State, practically applies the proclamation to the part previously excepted. It does not adopt apprenticeship for freed people, and is silent, as it could not well be otherwise, about the admission of members to Congress. So that, as it applied to Louisiana, every member of the Cabinet fully approved the plan. The message went to Congress, and I received many commendations of the plan, written and verbal, and not a single objection to it from any professed emancipationist came to my knowledge until after the news reached Washington that the people of Louisiana had begun to move in accordance with it. From about July, 1862, I had corresponded with different persons supposed to be interested in seeking a reconstruction of a State government for Louisiana. When the message of 1863, with the plan before mentioned, reached New Orleans, General Banks wrote me that he was confident that the people, with his military co-operation, would reconstruct substantially on that plan. I wrote to him and some of them to try it. They tried it, and the result is known. Such has been my only agency in getting up the Louisiana government. As to sustaining it, my promise is out, as before stated; but as bad promises are better broken than kept, I shall treat this as a bad promise and break it whenever I shall be convinced that keeping it is adverse to the public interest. But I have not yet been so convinced. I have been shown a letter on this subject—supposed to be an able one—in which the writer expresses regret that my mind has not

seemed to be definitely fixed on the question whether the seceded States, so called, are in the Union or out of it. It would perhaps add astonishment to this regret, were he to learn that since I have found professed Union men endeavoring to answer that question, I have purposely forborne any public expression upon it. As appears to me, that question has not been, nor yet is, a practically material one—and that any discussion of it, while it thus remains practically immaterial, could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, whatever it may become, that question is bad as the basis of a controversy, and good for nothing at all—a merely pernicious abstraction. We all agree that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the Government, civil and military, in regard to those States, is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact easier to do this without deciding, or even considering, whether these States have been out of the Union or in it; finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restore the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it. The amount of constituency, so to speak, on which the Louisiana government rests, would be more satisfactory to all if it contained fifty thousand, or thirty thousand, or even twenty thousand—instead of twelve thousand—as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers. Still, the question is not whether the Louisiana government, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, will it be wiser to take it as it is, and keep it, improve it, or to reject and disperse?

"Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? Some twelve thousand voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana, have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power of the State, held elections, organized a State government, adopted a free State constitution, giving the benefit of the public schools equally to black and white, and empowering the Legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man.

"This Legislature has already voted to ratify the Constitutional Amendment recently passed by Congress, abolishing slavery throughout the nation. These twelve thousand persons are thus fully committed to the Union, and to perpetuate freedom in the State—committed to the very things and nearly all things the nation wants; and they ask the nation's recognition, and its assistance, to make good this committal.

"Now, if we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in fact, say to the white man, You are worthless, or worse; we will neither help you nor be helped by you. To the blacks we say: This cup of liberty, which these, your old masters, help to your lips, we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where and how.

"If this course, discouraging and paralyzing both white and black, has any tendency to bring Louisiana into popular practical relations with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it. If, on the contrary, we sustain and recognize the new government of Louisiana, the converse of all this is made true. We encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of twelve thousand to adhere to their work and argue for it, and feed it, and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success.

"The colored man, too, in seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance, and energy, and daring to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not attain it sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward

it than by running backward over them? Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it. [Laughter.]

"Again, if we reject Louisiana we also reject one vote in favor of the proposed amendment to the national Constitution. To meet this proposition, it has been argued that no more than three-fourths of those States which have not attempted secession are necessary to validly ratify the amendment. I do not commit myself against this further than to say that such a ratification would be questionable and sure to be persistently questioned, while a ratification by three-fourths of all the States would be unquestioned and unquestionable.

"I repeat the question, can Louisiana be brought into practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? What has been said of Louisiana will apply to other States. And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each State and such important and sudden changes occur in the same State, and withal so new and unprecedented is the whole case, that no exclusive and inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and collaterals. Such exclusive and inflexible plan would surely become a new entanglement.

"Important principles may and must be inflexible. In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper."

The President, during the delivery of the above speech, was frequently interrupted by applause, and on its conclusion, in the midst of the cheering the band struck up a patriotic air, when he bowed and retired.

Repeated calls for Senator Sumner were then made, but he was not present.

Senator Harlan, of Iowa, was called for, and after the applause had subsided he directed attention to two principles settled or to be settled by the closing contest: First, that the American people had decided that the majority of the voters of the republic should control its destinies and the incipient processes of making its laws. Second, that no part of the republic should ever be permitted by force to divide it.

The punishment of traitors lay in the hands of Congress, and the Constitution pointed out clearly what constituted treason. Those who hatched the treason should suffer the penalty, and under Congress he was willing to trust the future in the hands of the citizen elected a second time to see the laws faithfully executed.

Senator Harlan's remarks were applauded, and the assemblage dispersed after vociferous huzzas and music by the band. A larger and more enthusiastic meeting was seldom, if ever before, held in front of the executive mansion.

On the same day the President had issued the following important proclamation, claiming that our vessels-of-war in foreign ports should no longer be subjected to restrictions as at present, but should have the same rights and hospitalities which are extended to foreign men-of-war in the ports of the United States, and declaring that hereafter the cruisers of every nation should receive the treatment which in those ports, they accord to ours, as follows:

"WHEREAS, For some time past vessels-of-war of the United States have been refused in certain ports privileges and immunities to which they were entitled by treaty, public law, or the

comity of nations, at the same time that vessels-of-war of the country wherein the said privileges and immunities have been withheld have enjoyed them fully and uninterruptedly, in the ports of the United States, which condition of things has not always been forcibly resisted by the United States, although, on the other hand, they have not at times failed to protest against and declare their dissatisfaction with the same. In the view of the United States no condition any longer exists which can be claimed to justify the denial to them by any one of said nations of the customary naval rights such as has heretofore been so unnecessarily persisted in; now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby make known that if, after a reasonable time shall have elapsed for the intelligence of this proclamation to have reached any foreign country in whose ports the said privileges and immunities shall have been refused as aforesaid, they shall continue to be so refused, then and thenceforth the same privileges and immunities shall be refused to the vessels-of-war of that country in the ports of the United States, and this refusal shall continue until the war vessels of the United States shall have been placed upon an entire equality in the foreign ports aforesaid with similar vessels of other countries. The United States, whatever claim or pretence may have existed heretofore, are now at least entitled to claim, and concede an entire and friendly equality of rights and hospitalities with all maritime nations.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [L. S.] sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ASSASSINATION, AND ITS EFFECTS UPON THE COUNTRY.

Threats of Assassination.—Details of the arrangements made by the Conspirators.—Booth's strange conduct and excited manner on the day of the Assassination.—President Lincoln's last hours among his family and friends.—Goes to the theatre.—The Deed.—Statements of Major Rathbone, Miss Harris and others.—The Death-bed scene.—The attack on Secretary Seward.—The news in Washington.—Its effects on the Nation.—The Editorial of the New York *World*.—Public emotion in New York and elsewhere.—Rev. Dr. Bellows' discourse.—Remarks of the Roman Catholic Archbishop.—Rev. H. W. Beecher's discourse.—The effect of the news upon Europe.—The reception in London.—The scene of its announcement in the Liverpool Exchange.—Official condolences.—Letter from the French Government.—Tribute of the Italian Chamber of Deputies.—Belgium joins in the general grief.—A commemorative service in Berlin.

GOOD FRIDAY, the 14th of April, has become a day ever memorable in American annals. Being the anniversary of Major Anderson's evacuation of Fort Sumter, the opening scene of the terrible four years' civil war, just ended, it had been appointed as a day of national thanksgiving and rejoicing—in singular forgetfulness of the fact that, from earliest times it was, to the Christian world, a commemoration of the death of the Saviour. Richmond was ours; the rebel General Lee and his army were prisoners; Johnston's army on the eve of surrender; and this day General Anderson, amid the thunder of echoing cannon, and the cheers and congratulations of loyal men, raised the beloved flag of his country over the ruins of Sumter, from which, four

years before, he had been driven, by the overpowering force of armed treason.

President Lincoln was already planning ways of peace; the reduction of the national army, and of the heavy expenditures of the War Department; the reconstruction and restoration of the southern States, to the Union from which they had madly torn themselves; the softening of all the asperities, and the healing of all the wounds, social and political, which had been engendered by this terrible civil strife—such were his first thoughts and cares.

At the first breath of returning peace, the sword had turned to the olive-branch in his hand; and his great heart gladly threw off the armor of defence, for the garment of mercy. This hour of triumph was, to him, not so much a lessening, as a change of responsibility. In that hour, he was relieved from these responsibilities, and set free from all the cares of earth, by the sudden act of an assassin—which, when we consider its success, the ease with which it was accomplished, and the rapidity of the murderer's escape, is almost without a parallel in history.

In a public concourse, and in the presence of hundreds, the chief of a great nation was murdered in an instant, and for a long time no trace of the recognized assassin could be found, although he must have galloped in the dead hour of night past officers and sentries, apparently unquestioned and unchecked.

A plot, the whole extent and ramifications of which have never yet been fully made known, had long been formed to assassinate the President and the prominent members of the Cabinet. Originating apparently in the

Confederate government, this act, with others, such as the attempt to fire New York, the St. Albans raid, the seizure of vessels on the lakes and at sea, was confided to an association of army officers, who when sent on these errands were said to be on 'detached service.' There is direct proof of Booth's actual consultation with officers known to belong to this organization, during Lee's retreat from Gettysburg. The assassination of the President was a thing so commonly talked of in the South as to excite at last no surprise, and a reward was actually offered, in one of the southern papers, for the assassination of the President, Vice President, and Secretary of State.

It is already ascertained that a previous attempt to take the life of Mr. Lincoln, by poison, was made, but failed. Then parties were employed to do the work surely, and to John Wilkes Booth, the great act was committed.

Threats of assassination had, at the beginning of the war, induced considerable care on the part of the authorities. At the first inaugration, in 1861, steps were taken to guard against any such nefarious design. Gradually, however, these threats were treated lightly, and less precautions was taken. Warning, indeed, had been conveyed to Mr. Seward on the very day that an accident laid him a sufferer on his bed of pain, but apparently without inducing any unusual caution or watchfulness.

The President's visit to Richmond, where he walked unattended, had seemed to many too rash, and his friends remonstrated strongly against his thus imperil ling a life on which all America had a claim. He wrote

on the very day of his death, influenced, at length, by this friendly anxiety, to General Van Allen: "I intend to adopt the advice of my friends and use due precaution."

Alas! too late. The time and place of the terrible crime had already been appointed. One of the principal theatres of Washington, directed by John T. Ford (who, however, seems to have been no party to the plot), had placed a state box, as it was termed, at the disposal of President Lincoln. The evening of the 14th was appointed for the benefit of Miss Laura Keene, to which the President, General Grant, and other prominent officials were invited, and expected to be present. This invitation furnished the long wished-for opportunity to the conspirators, and with diabolical ingenuity, they prepared the theatre for their fiendish work. The President's box was a double one, or what ordinarily constituted two boxes, in the second tier, at the left of the stage. On occasions of its being occupied by the Presidential party, these boxes were thrown into one, by the removal of the temporary partition. The doors of these boxes opened into a narrow, dark hallway, closed in turn by a door at the end of the dress-circle. During the day, or previously, these premises had been fully and deliberately prepared by the assassin and his accomplices, for the coming tragedy. The passage-door opening from the dress-circle had been securely fastened by a piece of board, firmly braced between it and a secret niche made in the opposite wall—so that it would be impossible to jar it out of place by knocking against the door on the outer, or dress-circle side. Having thus guarded against intru-

sion by any of the audience, the assassin next proceeded to provide means of observing the position of the occupants of the box, by boring gimlet holes in the panels of the box doors, enlarged by a pen-knife on the inside, through which he could survey the scene at the moment of action. The spring-locks on the inside of the doors were weakened by the partial withdrawal of the screws which fastened the hasps to the wood; so that, even if locked, the doors would offer but little resistance to firm pressure from the outside. Facility of access being thus provided, the murderer, or his confederates among the employees of the theatre, had insured a clear and unobstructed passage to their victim, by such an arrangement of the chairs and sofas as would place the other occupants at some distance from him, and in positions not to observe an entrance. Mr. Lincoln's chair was placed in the front corner, furthest from the stage; that of Mrs. Lincoln was more remote from the front, and just by the column in the centre; while the other chairs and a sofa were all placed on the side nearest the stage, leaving the centre of the spacious box clear for the assassin's operations, and enabling him to enter unseen. For the criminal act, Booth had selected a small silver-mounted Derringer pistol, and a bowie knife. He had previously often exhibited a nicked bullet, with which he declared that his intention was to kill the President; and during a recent visit to Boston, spent much of his time at a pistol gallery, practising firing behind his neck, between his legs, and in many strange and awkward positions. For his escape he had no less carefully provided. He took a stable in the alley in the rear of the theatre, and on

the afternoon of Friday hired a fine bay mare, and taking it to the stable, employed Spangler, the stage carpenter, to watch it. It was saddled ready for an instant mount, and placed in charge of Spangler, who also prepared the scenes so that he could readily reach the back door. Of this door Spangler took charge, relieving the boy who was sent to hold Booth's horse during the performance. All these preparations bore the unmistakeable evidence of ingenuity, industry and perseverance, in the perfect accomplishment of a deliberate murder.

A son of the celebrated English actor, Lucius Junius Booth, John Wilkes seems to have inherited a less share of his father's talent than of his eccentricity and madness. Aged about twenty-seven; handsome, but intensely vicious and perverse, his wild and dissipated life, his unsteadiness and low associations, had lost him the respect of many who would have been his friends; and had lessened the importance which might otherwise have been attached to his threats and boasts.

During the whole of that eventful Friday, his manner was full of excitability, and attracted the attention of several, who, knowing his peculiarities, supposed him to be simply in one of his wild moods. In answer to the inquiry of the clerk at his hotel, whether he was ill, he answered quickly, "No," and asked, "Are you going to Ford's theatre to-night?" immediately adding, "You ought to go; there is to be some splendid acting there to-night." Much of his time, during the day, was spent in drinking frequently at the bar of a saloon next door to the theatre. During the afternoon, he called at the

Kirkwood House, where Vice President Johnson resided, and sent up a card, with these words:

"I don't wish to disturb you, but would be glad to have an interview. J. WILKES BOOTH."

Mr. Johnson was fortunately not within, and to this, possibly, owes his life. The object of Booth in seeking this interview, however, may not have been to kill the Vice President, as such an act would have probably foiled the contemplated attack on the President. It may have been, therefore, simply an attempt to involve the Vice President, and cast suspicion upon him. To get him to write a note—a simple response to his card would do—"I shall be happy to have an interview with Mr. Booth on——." This card, dropped on the scene of the murder in the theatre, would have furnished an evidence of collusion with Mr. Lincoln's destined successor—a shallow device, it is true, but one in the fashion of a hundred stage plots. If we discard the idea of an intended murder of the Vice President by Booth (and we know that the arrangement of the conspiracy had appointed the work to another assassin), this seems to be the only remaining conjecture. Be that as it may, Booth, failing to reach Mr. Johnson, returned to his hotel about four o'clock, and wrote a letter to his mother, apparently under great excitement. He took his tea at the hotel at the usual hour, and the next heard of him was a little after seven o'clock, when, in company with five others, he entered the drinking saloon before mentioned, and all drank together. The emphasis of their manner in drinking attracted attention, and after drinking, they formally shook hands

with each other, bidding one another good-bye. Upon leaving the bar-room, two of the party rode off on horseback. At a later hour, some colored people living on the alley of the theatre, saw him in conference with Spangler, and placing his horse in position after the performance had commenced. Others saw him around the entrance soon after. An officer, as we shall see, saw him enter the passage leading to the state box, but neither the police in front, the soldier who overheard his language full of menace against the President, nor the officer whom his apparent rudeness shocked, nor the President's own attendant, seemed to have had the slightest suspicion of the coming tragedy. No angel whispered a word of warning. Providence permitted the lull of security to surround all.

But we will now follow President Lincoln in the events of the day which closed his mortal career with such appalling suddenness.

His son, Captain Robert Lincoln, who is on General Grant's staff, breakfasted with him on Friday morning, having just returned from the capitulation of Lee, and the President passed a happy hour listening to all the details. While at breakfast, he heard that Speaker Colfax was in the house, and sent word that he wished to see him immediately in the reception-room. He conversed with him nearly an hour about his future policy as to the rebellion, which he was about to submit to the Cabinet. Afterward, he had an interview with Mr. Hale, minister to Spain, and several Senators and Representatives.

At eleven o'clock, the cabinet and General Grant met with him; and, in one of the most satisfactory and im-

portant Cabinet meetings held since his first inauguration, the future policy of the Administration in the great work of reconstruction, and restoring the southern States to their ancient place beside their sister States, was harmoniously and unanimously agreed on. When it adjourned, Secretary Stanton said that he felt that the government was stronger than at any previous period since the rebellion commenced; and the President is said, in his characteristic way, to have told them that some important news would soon come, as he had a dream of a ship sailing very rapidly, and had invariably had that same dream before great events in the war, Bull Run, Antietam, Gettysburg, &c.

In the afternoon, the President had a long and pleasant interview with Governor Oglesby, Senator Yates, and other leading citizens of his State. In the evening, Mr. Colfax called again at his request, and Mr. Ashmun, of Massachusetts, who presided over the Chicago Convention of 1860, was present. To them he spoke of his visit to Richmond, and when they stated that there was much uneasiness at the North while he was at the rebel capital, for fear that some traitor might shoot him, he replied jocularly that he would have been alarmed himself if any other person had been President, and gone there, but that he did not feel any danger whatever. Conversing on a matter of business with Mr. Ashmun, he made a remark that he saw Mr. Ashmun was surprised at; and immediately, with his well-known kindness of heart, said, "You did not understand me, Ashmun; I did not mean what you inferred, and I will take it all back, and apologize for it." He afterwards gave Mr. Ashmun a

card, written on his knee, to admit himself and friend early the next morning to converse further about it.

Turning to Mr. Colfax, he said, "You are going with Mrs. Lincoln and me to the theatre, I hope." But Mr. Colfax had other engagements, expecting to leave the city the next morning.

He then said to Mr. Colfax, "Mr. Sumner has the gavel of the Confederate Congress, which he got at Richmond to hand to the Secretary of War, but I insisted then that he must give it to you; and you tell him for me to hand it over." Mr. Ashmun alluded to the gavel which he still had, and which he had used at the Chicago Convention, and the President and Mrs. Lincoln, who was also in the parlor, rose to go to the theatre. It was half an hour after the time they had intended to start, and they spoke about waiting half an hour longer, for the President went with reluctance, as General Grant had gone north, and he did not wish the people to be disappointed, as they had both been advertised to be there. At the door he stopped, and said:—"Colfax, do not forget to tell the people in the mining regions, as you pass through them, what I told you this morning about the development when peace comes, and I will telegraph you at San Francisco."

Mr. Lincoln finally stated that he must go to the theatre, and warmly pressed Speaker Colfax and Mr. Ashmun to accompany him; but they excused themselves on the score of previous engagements, and about 8 P. M., Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln entered the carriage.

As they proceeded at once to the residence of Senator Harris, for Miss Harris, we give the following detailed and authentic statement delivered under oath by Major

Rathbone, the step-son of the Hon. Mr. Harris, and which is confirmed by Miss Harris in every particular.

"Henry R. Rathbone, brevet Major in the army of the United States, being duly sworn, says, that on the 14th day of April, instant, at about twenty-minutes past eight o'clock in the evening, he, with Miss Clara H. Harris, left his residence at the corner of Fifteenth and H streets, and joined the President and Mrs. Lincoln and went with them in their carriage to Ford's theatre in Tenth street. The box assigned to the President is in the second tier on the right-hand side of the audience, and was occupied by the President and Mrs. Lincoln, Miss Harris, and this deponent, and by no other person. The box is entered by passing from the front of the building in the rear of the dress circle to a small entry or passageway, about eight feet in length and four feet in width. This passageway is entered by a door which opens on the inner side. The door is so placed as to make an acute angle between it and the wall behind it on the inner side. At the inner end of this passageway is another door, standing squarely across, and opening into the box. On the left-hand side of the passageway, and being near the inner end, is a third door, which also opens into the box. This latter door was closed. The party entered the box through the door at the end of the passageway. The box is so constructed that it may be divided into two by a movable partition, one of the doors described opening into each. The front of the box is about ten or twelve feet in length, and in the centre of the railing is a small pillar overhung with a curtain. The depth of the box from front to rear is about nine feet. The elevation of the box above the stage, including the railing, is about ten or twelve feet.

"When the party entered the box, a cushioned arm-chair was standing at the end of the box furthest from the stage and nearest the audience. This was also the nearest point to the door by which the box is entered. The President seated himself in this chair, and, except that he once left the chair for the

purpose of putting on his overcoat, remained so seated until he was shot. Mrs. Lincoln was seated in a chair between the President and the pillar in the centre above described. At the opposite end of the box, that nearest the stage, were two chairs, in one of these, standing in the corner, Miss Harris was seated. At her left hand, and along the wall running from that end of the box to the rear, stood a small sofa. At the end of this sofa, next to Miss Harris, this deponent was seated. The distance between this deponent and the President, as they were sitting, was about seven or eight feet, and the distance between this deponent and the door was about the same. The distance between the President, as he sat, and the door was about four or five feet. The door, according to the recollection of this deponent, was not closed during the evening.

"When the second scene of the third act was being performed, and this deponent was intently observing the proceedings upon the stage, with his back towards the door, he heard the discharge of a pistol behind him, and looking around, saw through the smoke a man between the door and the President. At the same time deponent heard him shout some word which deponent thinks was 'Freedom.' This deponent instantly sprang towards him and seized him. He wrested himself from the grasp and made a violent thrust at the breast of deponent with a large knife. Deponent parried the blow by striking it up, and received a wound several inches deep in his left arm between the elbow and the shoulder. The orifice of the wound is about an inch and a half in length, and extends upwards towards the shoulder several inches. The man rushed to the front of the box and deponent endeavored to seize him again, but only caught his clothes as he was leaping over the railing of the box. The clothes, as deponent believes, were torn in this attempt to seize him. As he went over upon the stage, deponent cried out with a loud voice, 'Stop that man.' Deponent then turned to the President. His position was not changed. His head was slightly bent forward and his eyes were closed

Deponent saw that he was unconscious, and, supposing him mortally wounded, rushed to the door for the purpose of calling medical aid. On reaching the outer door of the passageway as above described, deponent found it barred by a heavy piece of plank, one end of which was secured in the wall and the other rested against the door. It had been so securely fastened that it required considerable force to remove it. This wedge or bar was about four feet from the floor. Persons upon the outside were beating against the door for the purpose of entering. Deponent removed the bar and the door was opened. Several persons who represented themselves to be surgeons were allowed to enter. Deponent saw there Lieut. Crawford, and requested him to prevent other persons from entering the box. Deponent then returned to the box and found the surgeons examining the President's person. They had not yet discovered the wound. As soon as it was discovered it was determined to remove him from the theatre. He was carried out, and this deponent then proceeded to assist Mrs. Lincoln, who was intensely excited, to leave the theatre. On reaching the head of the stairs deponent requested Major Potter to aid him in assisting Mrs. Lincoln across the street to the house to which the President was being conveyed. The wound which deponent had received had been bleeding very profusely, and, on reaching the house, feeling very faint from the loss of blood, he seated himself in the hall, and soon after fainted away and was laid upon the floor. Upon the return of consciousness deponent was taken in a carriage to his residence.

"In the review of the transaction, it is the confident belief of the deponent that the time which elapsed between the discharge of the pistol and the time when the assassin leaped from the box, did not exceed thirty seconds. Neither Mrs. Lincoln nor Miss Harris had left their seats.

"H. R. RATHBONE."

"Subscribed and sworn before me, this 17th day of April, 1865. "A. B. OLIN,

"*Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.*"

Such is the account of the brief but tragic act, given by one within the box. An actor, who was at the moment on the stage, makes the following statement, showing what was seen from his position; and he was the only one of the company on the stage at the time, Miss Laura Keene being about to enter:

"I was," says Mr. Hawke, "playing 'Asa Trenchard' in the 'American Cousin.' The 'old lady' of the theatre had just gone off the stage, and I was answering her exit speech when I heard the shot fired. I turned, looked up at the President's box, heard the man exclaim '*Sic semper tyrannis*,' saw him jump from the box, seize the flag on the staff, and drop to the stage. He slipped when he gained the stage, but got upon his feet in a moment, brandished a large knife, saying 'The South shall be free!' turned his face in the direction I stood, and I recognized him as John Wilkes Booth. He ran towards me, and I, seeing the knife, thought I was the one he was after, ran off the stage and up a flight of stairs. He made his escape out of a door directly in the rear of the theatre, mounted a horse and rode off.

"The above all occurred in the space of a quarter of a minute, and, at the time, I did not know that the President was shot—although if I had tried to stop him he would have stabbed me."

Few of the audience had any idea of what was occurring, but Captain Theodore McGowan, A. A. G. to General Augur, makes this statement:

"On the night of Friday, April 14th, 1865, in company with a friend, I went to Ford's theatre. Arriving there just after the entrance of President Lincoln and the party accompanying him, my friend, Lieutenant Crawford, and I, after viewing the Presidential party from the opposite side of the dress circle,

went to the right side and took seats in the passage above the seats of the dress circle, and about five feet from the door of the box occupied by President Lincoln. During the performance the attendant of the President came out and took the chair nearest the door. I sat, and had been sitting, about four feet to his left and rear, for some time.

"I remember that a man, whose face I do not distinctly recollect, passed me, and inquired of one sitting near who the President's messenger was; and learning, exhibited to him an envelope, apparently official, having a printed heading, and superscribed in a bold hand. I could not read the address, and did not try. *I think now it was meant for Lieutenant-General Grant.* That man went away.

"Some time after, I was disturbed in my seat by the approach of a man who desired to pass up on the aisle in which I was sitting. Giving him room by bending my chair forward, he passed me and stepped one step down on the level below me. Standing there, he was almost in my line of sight, and I saw him while watching the play. He stood, as I remember, one step above the messenger, and remained perhaps one minute apparently looking at the stage and orchestra below. Then he drew a number of visiting cards from his pocket, from which, with some attention, he drew or selected one. These things I saw distinctly. I saw him stoop, and, I think, descend to the level of the messenger, and by his right side. He showed the card to the messenger; and as my attention was then more closely fixed upon the play, I do not know whether the card was carried in by the messenger, or his consent given to the entrance of the man who presented it. I saw, a few moments after, the same man entering the door of the lobby leading to the box and the door closing behind him. This was seen because I could not fail from my position to observe it—the door side of the proscenium box and the stage were all within the direct and oblique lines of my sight. How long I watched the play after entering I do not know. It was, perhaps, two or

three minutes, possibly four. The house was perfectly still, the large audience listening to the dialogue between 'Florence Trenchard' and 'May Meredith,' when the sharp report of a pistol rang through the house. It was apparently fired behind the scenes, on the right of the stage. Looking towards it and behind the Presidential box, while it startled all, it was evidently accepted by every one in the theatre as an introduction to some new passage, several of which had been interpolated in the early part of the play. A moment after a man leaped from the front of the box, directly down nine feet on the stage, and ran rapidly across it, bare-headed, holding an unsheathed dagger in his right hand, the blade of which flashed brightly in the gaslight as he came within ten feet of the opposite rear exit. I did not see his face as he leaped or ran, but I am convinced he was the man I saw enter. As he leaped he cried distinctly the motto of Virginia, '*Sic semper tyrannis.*' The hearing of this, and the sight of the dagger, explained fully to me the nature of the deed he had committed. In an instant he had disappeared behind the side-scene. Consternation seemed for a moment to rivet every one to his seat; the next moment confusion reigned supreme. I saw the features of the man distinctly before he entered the box, having surveyed him contemptuously before he entered, supposing him to be an ill-bred fellow who was pressing a selfish matter on the President in his hours of leisure. The assassin of the President is about five feet nine and a half inches high, black hair, and I think eyes of the same color. He did not turn his face more than quarter front, as artists term it. His face was smooth, as I remember, with the exception of a moustache of moderate size, but of this I am not positive. He was dressed in a black coat approximating to a dress-frock, dark pants, and wore a stiff-rimmed, flat-topped, round-crowned black hat, of felt, I think. He was a gentlemanly-looking person, having no decided or obtruding mark. He seemed for a moment or two to survey the house with the deliberation of an habitue of the theatre."

Several persons, indeed, had observed Booth loitering around the entrance of the theatre and the boxes; but neither this, nor his leaving his horse in the rear, from his profession and actual occasional appearance on the boards of the theatre, could or did excite the slightest suspicion. A soldier, however, states that he heard him and another man in front of the theatre speaking as though they intended to attack the President as he came out; and that men, stationed apparently at intervals in the audience, along the corridors, and at the door of the theatre, kept calling out the time every few minutes, evidently to notify confederates in the rear. All the preparations, however, show that the box was the place appointed in the councils of the conspirators.

At the moment of the fearful deed the President was seated in a large and comfortable crimson velvet patent rocking-chair, his right elbow upon the arm of the chair, and his head resting upon his hand, while the left hand was extended to pull aside the flag (belonging to the Treasury Guard), which draped the side of the box nearest him. One may imagine the President, who had a childish simplicity in his moments of relaxation, indulging in the contented chuckling laughter peculiar to him, as, with his great gaunt body leaning forward, his brawny hands thrust through his thick black locks, his full dark eyes fixed on the stage, he listened to the exaggerated eccentricities of "Our American Cousin," whilst the murderer was hovering in the passage behind the box, or peeping, through the crevice he had contrived, at every movement of his intended victim. At this instant Booth burst open the door immediately behind the President, and deliberately shot him, as already

stated. It was all the work of a moment! The audience, waiting for the appearance of a favorite actress on the stage, were suddenly startled by the report of a pistol, and by the fall or leap of a man from the President's box upon the stage. As the intruder struck the stage, he fell forward, but soon gathering himself up he turned, erect, in full view of the audience, and with singular audacity, and with a calmness which only could come of careful premeditation, uttered the words "*Sic Semper Tyrannis!*" in tones so sharp and clear that every person in the theatre heard them. He said something more, but in that second of time Mrs. Lincoln had screamed in horror, the unusual occurrences had created an excitement, the audience begun to rise, and no one heard the words distinctly. Booth now rushed across the stage, by *Dundreary*, by *Florence Trenchard*, at the wing, rudely pushing Miss Keene out of his way, as she stood ready to come upon the stage, down the long passage behind the scenes, thrusting his knife at a man who seemed to interrupt his flight, and out by the stage door into the darkness. Only one man, Mr. J. B. Stewart, of the Washington bar, had presence of mind to pursue him; but unfamiliar with the theatre, Booth reached the back door before him, and closing it, was enabled to thrust aside the boy and spring to his saddle, before Mr. Stewart could open it. All was instantly confusion. Both before and behind the scenes every one knew that the President had been shot. Actors rushed upon the stage, and the audience into the orchestra. Mr. Lincoln had sunk down without a groan or a struggle. Mrs. Lincoln had fainted after her first shriek—Major Rathbone was disabled by a stab

which Booth's knife had given him in the struggle—Miss Harris was bewildered, by the sudden and fearful occurrence. The audience surged to and fro in frantic excitement. Some attempted to climb up the supports and into the box. Then came those clear and distinct tones of Laura Keene, first in the theatre to understand and appreciate the emergency—"Keep quiet in your seats—give him air." In another moment certain gentlemen found presence of mind to order the throng to leave the theatre. The gas was turned down. The crowd at last, animated by a common impulse, pushed for the outer doors.

As they emerged from the building, and surged up Pennsylvania Avenue toward Willard's, bearing the news of the President's death, they met another panic-stricken crowd sweeping down the avenue, with the tidings of the attack upon Secretary Seward. Instantly, a wild apprehension of an organized conspiracy and of other murders, took possession of the people. The streets of Washington on that awful night, presented a scene of wild terror, passion, and gloom, such as was never known before, and, we trust, will never again be.

The successful attempt to murder the President took place before thousands of spectators; the unsuccessful assault on Mr. Seward had been perpetrated under more extraordinary if not desperate circumstances. Through the streets of Washington, filled with soldiers, surrounded by fortifications and patrols, there rode, whilst the citizens were still awake and stirring, a solitary man to the house of the Secretary of State, then lying on his sick-bed from the effects of an accident which rendered him as helpless as a child, but which, at

the same time, as the assassin well knew, rendered it necessary for him to have the aid of others. Two of Mr. Seward's sons and two male attendants were actually about his bed, or in the adjoining room, when the desperado, under a plea which at once provoked suspicion and resistance, forced his way up from the hall, and with incredible strength, fury, and rapidity, struck down every obstacle between him and his victim, whose throat he attempted to cut. He only succeeded, however, in inflicting severe gashes upon his face, his blows being partially warded off by the bed-clothes about the Secretary's neck, and by the additional fact that Mr. Seward rolled out upon the floor. Then stepping over the bleeding bodies of Mr. Seward's two sons and of his two attendants, the man rushed into the street, exclaiming, "*Sic Semper Tyrannis*," leaped upon his horse, and galloping along the side of the square in which the Secretary's house is situated, was lost to sight.

But to return to Mr. Lincoln. The surgeons who entered the box, found him insensible, and were satisfied the wound was mortal. The body was immediately borne out of the theatre and across the street to the house of a Mr. Peterson. Around the dying President were soon gathered the various members of the Cabinet, and other prominent military officers and civilians. Secretary Stanton, just arrived from the bedside of Mr. Seward, asked Surgeon-General Barnes what was Mr. Lincoln's condition. "I fear, Mr. Stanton, that there is no hope." "Oh, no, general; no, no;" and the man, of all others, apparently strange to tears, sank down beside the bed, the hot bitter evidences of an awful sorrow trickling through his fingers to the floor. Sena-

tor Sumner sat on the opposite side of the bed, holding one of the President's hands in his own, and sobbing with kindred grief. Secretary Welles stood at the foot of the bed, his face hidden, his frame shaken with emotion. General Halleck, Attorney-General Speed, Postmaster-General Dennison, General Meigs and others, visited the chamber at times, and then retired.

Thus, all through the night, while the horror-stricken crowds outside swept and gathered along the streets, while the military and police were patroling and weaving a cordon around the city; while men were arming, and asking one another, "What victim next?" while the telegraph was sending the news from city to city over the continent, and while the two assassins were speeding unharmed upon fleet horses far away—his chosen friends watched about the death-bed of the highest of the nation.

The Hon. M. B. Field, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in a letter, thus describes the place and the sad scene enacted there:

"I proceeded at once to the room in which the President was lying, which was a bedroom in an extension, on the first or parlor floor of the house. The room is small, and is ornamented with prints, a very familiar one of Landseer's, a white horse, being prominent, directly over the bed. The bed was a double one, and I found the President lying diagonally across it, with his head at the outside. The pillows were saturated with blood, and there was considerable blood upon the floor imme diately under him. There was a patch-work coverlet thrown over the President, which was only so far removed, from time to time, as to enable the physicians in attendance to feel the arteries of the neck or the heart, and he appeared to have been divested of all clothing. His eyes were closed and injected

with blood, both the lids and the portion surrounding the eyes being as black as if they had been bruised by violence. He was breathing regularly, but with effort, and did not seem to be struggling or suffering. . . .

"For several hours, the breathing above described continued regularly, and apparently without pain or consciousness. But about seven o'clock a change occurred, and the breathing, which had been continuous, was interrupted at intervals. These intervals became more frequent and of longer duration, and the breathing more feeble. Several times the interval was so long, that we thought him dead, and the surgeon applied his finger to the pulse, evidently to ascertain if such was the fact. But it was not until twenty-two minutes past seven o'olock in the morning that the flame flickered out. There was no apparent suffering, no convulsive action, no rattling of the throat, none of the ordinary premonitory symptoms of death. Death in this case was a mere cessation of breathing.

"The fact had not been ascertained one minute, when Dr. Gurley offered up a prayer. The few persons in the room were all profoundly affected. The President's eyes, after death, were not, particularly the right one, entirely closed. I closed them myself, with my fingers. The expression immediately after death was purely negative; but in fifteen minutes there came over the mouth, the nostrils, and the chin, a smile that seemed almost an effort of life. I had never seen upon the President's face an expression more genial and pleasing.

"About fifteen minutes before the decease, Mrs. Lincoln came into the room, and threw herself upon her dying husband's body. She was allowed to remain there only a few minutes, when she was removed in a sobbing condition, in which, indeed, she had been during all the time she was present."

The Rev. Dr. Gurley, of the New York Avenue Presbyterian church, immediately on its being ascertained that life was extinct, knelt at the bedside, and offered

an impressive prayer, which was responded to by all present. He then proceeded to the front parlor, where Mrs. Lincoln, Captain Robert Lincoln, Mr. John Hay, the private secretary, and others were waiting, where he again offered a prayer for the consolation of the family.

Shortly after nine o'clock the remains were removed in a coffin to the White House, attended by a dense crowd, and escorted by a squadron of cavalry and several distinguished officers. At a later hour a *post-mortem* examination was made of the remains, by Surgeon-General Barnes, Dr. Stone, the late President's family physician, Drs. Crane, Curtis, Woodward, Taft, and other eminent medical men.

The appalling tragedy at Washington, like a sudden and profound eclipse, darkened the whole land. Its hideous details seemed more the inventions of a morbid imagination than the stern realities which they were. In the midst of national rejoicings and congratulations over the downfall of the rebellion, and the cheering prospects of a glorious peace, under the generous and forgiving policy of restoration foreshadowed by President Lincoln, the dreadful tidings of his death by the hands of an assassin, carried a sudden and heavy weight of anguish through the length and breadth of the land. Every man felt as though the blow had fallen at his own hearthstone; to every heart it came as a personal affliction. The startling intelligence created a keener sorrow, a deeper, broader, and more universal sense of public loss, than perhaps was ever before experienced in any age, in any country, or by any people, over the death of one man. The simple, genial, and generous charac-

ter of Mr. Lincoln had taken a closer hold upon the affections of the masses of the American people than that of any of their chosen favorites since the days of Washington. From every heart, and from every family circle there went up a cry of anguish, "The President is murdered," and the terrible news stunned and paralyzed every one who heard it.

At eleven o'clock on the following morning, April 15, 1865, Vice President Johnson was inaugurated President of the United States, receiving the oath at the hand of Chief Justice Chase, at the rooms of the Vice President at the Kirkwood House, in the presence of the Cabinet and several prominent members of Congress. His brief remarks were appropriate to the peculiar and gloomy circumstances under which they were assembled, and were expressive of his solemn sense of the duties and obligations thus suddenly devolved upon him by the death of Mr. Lincoln.

A general gloom pervaded every circle of society, and every face wore a look of deepest sorrow at the loss of one who, wise and beyond reproach, had just carried the country through its terrible struggle.

In our great cities men went, as usual, from their homes to their places of business and labor; but as with one accord, when the certainty of the President's death was announced, all business was at an end. At the earliest tidings, the flags and streamers which in exultation over Sumter's restoration, had, the day before, been fluttering so victoriously in the breeze, were silently lowered; and when Mr. Lincoln breathed his last, flags hung at half-mast, and the fronts of public buildings and of stores were draped in black. Before sunset, almost

every dwelling was darkened with the habiliments of woe.

Meanwhile the heads of departments, commanders of armies, governors of States, and mayors of cities, issued orders expressing their sense of the loss, and calling on those under their direction to join in the universal sorrow. All party feeling was forgotten. There was, in fact, a rivalry of grief among those who opposed the party of which Abraham Lincoln was the chosen head, and those who were his most ardent admirers and supporters. The papers everywhere paid their tribute to the worth of Mr. Lincoln, and most appreciative, perhaps, of all these utterances was the editorial in the *New York World*, ever noticeable for its persistent and relentless opposition to the course and policy of the murdered President.

"THE LATE PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

'Never before in history has there been an occasion so fraught with public consequences that was, at the same time, so like an overwhelming domestic affliction. This portentious national calamity, conscious as we all are of its weighty and inscrutable significance in the future politics of the country, is also so full of affecting pathos and tragic horror that a smitten people are overborne by a flood of sensibility, like a bereaved family who have no heart to think on their estate and prospects when the tide of sudden affliction has swept away the supporting prop of the household. By no other single achievement could death have carried such a feeling of desolation into every dwelling, and have caused this whole land to mourn as over the sundering of some dear domestic tie.

"The terrible deed which has filled the national heart with grief and consternation, lacks no conceivable accessory of tragic

horror. When the storm which has gone over us seemed to have spent its force, there is suddenly shot from an unexpected quarter, without warning or preparation, a swift thunderbolt, which strikes away the chief pillar of the state and shakes the whole edifice to its foundations. Death, always affecting, becomes horrible when dealt by the hand of an assassin; even though the victim be but a private individual, the deed of violence spreads a feeling of uneasiness and alarm through an excited community. The demise of the chief magistrate of a great nation, even though he die calmly in his bed, in the most tranquil times, is an awful and affecting event; when an assassin deals the blow, the surcharge of horror is naturally as great in proportion as in the case of a murdered individual; but if the calamity comes in a crisis when that particular life is unusually felt to be of supreme value to a nation's hopes and prospects, the awfulness of the tragedy is heightened by all the considerations that can give overwhelming poignancy to a nation's grief. Even the unimportant circumstances and surroundings of this foul deed have a tragic complexion. Perpetrated on the anniversary of the opening of the war; in a place of public amusement; in the presence of a paralyzed multitude, who had come clustering together to witness a spectacle; the murderer an actor by profession, trained to an exaggerated admiration of certain historic characters, whose suggestive names had become prefixes in his family; his escape from a crowded assembly by leaping upon the stage and disappearing behind the scenes with a Latin motto in his mouth, while the consort of his illustrious victim was swooning in an agony of which no imagination can measure the depth;—and then the cry that arose at midnight in all the cities of this afflicted land, and the horror and consternation that fell upon all hearts as the sun heaved up his orb into the morning sky—all this together completes a spectacle for the horror-struck imagination such as history, even with the trappings of the tragic muse to set it off, has seldom or never approached. What has the Eternal Mind,

that presides over and shapes out the course of human history, in store for us, that He has thus permitted to be spread upon the canvas allotted to this country and this century a scene so affecting and awful that none of its colors can fade till both continents are engulfed in the all-effacing ocean?

"Whatever a wise and unsearchable Providence may bring out of this appalling visitation, we can, as yet, see nothing in it but calamity. It is a terrible proof of the depth, intensity, and danger of those passions which have been awakened into such fearful vigor by the events of the war. An ardent young man, not personally predisposed to crime; brought up to an art which stands aloof from political associations; accustomed to view the events of history only on their pathetic or their scenic side; trained to regulate every gesture and mould every lineament of his face to court public admiration; this young man, with this imaginative training, is not transformed into an assassin by the vulgar impulses of an ordinary murderer. In this terrible deed, as in the ordinary exercise of his profession, he has been a candidate for sympathy and approbation. It was his instinctive and sympathetic knowledge of what lurks in the hearts of the baffled secessionists, which made him see that this unavailing act of vengeance would enshrine him in their affections, and make his a dear and canonized name. His dreadful act is an awful commentary on the consequences of party passions when they are fanned into such rage that they strip the most odious crimes of their horror and clothe them in the seductive drapery of public virtue. While the disabled half of the country is yet a cauldron of unsubdued and seething passions, it is lamentable that there should be taken from us a mild and paternal chief magistrate who was preparing to pour over these agitated passions the soothing influence of his natural clemency. As soon as the war-cloud visibly lifted, he set himself to the performance of acts which commanded the approval even of his former opponents; and the day which preceded his death was passed in employments more full of promise than any

other in the calendar of his momentous era. There will fall into his opening and honored grave no warmer or more plentiful tribute of honest sensibility than is shed by those of his loyal fellow-citizens who did not contribute to his re-election.

"Of the career brought thus suddenly to this tragic close it is yet too early to make any estimate that will not require revision. It is probable that the judgment of history will differ in many respects from that of Mr. Lincoln's contemporaries; and in no respect, perhaps, more than in reversing the current tenor of the public thinking on what has been considered the vacillation of his character. It must never be overlooked that Mr. Lincoln was elevated to the Presidency without previous training; that he was a novice in the discharge of high executive functions. Confronted at the very threshold with problems of a novelty, magnitude, and difficulty which would have caused the most experienced statesman to quail, beset on all sides by the most conflicting advice, it would not have been wisdom, but shallow and foolhardy presumption, indicating unseemly levity of character, if he had affected a display of the same kind of confident decision with which an old sailor manages a cock-boat in fair weather. If, under such circumstances, he had played the *role* of a man of decision, he would have forfeited all title to be considered a man of sense. When the most experienced and reputable statesmen of the country came to opposite conclusions, it is creditable to the strength, solidity, and modesty of Mr. Lincoln's mind, that he acted with a cautious and hesitating deliberation, proportioned rather to a sense of his great responsibilities, than to a theatrical notion of political stage effect.

"Had the country, previous to Mr. Lincoln's first election, foreseen what was coming, it would not have chosen for President a man of Mr. Lincoln's inexperience and peculiar type of character. But if his party was to succeed, we doubt whether foresight and deliberation would have made so good a choice. With the Republican party in power, this terrible struggle was

inevitable; and, with a man of fixed views and inflexible purpose at the head of the government, it would probably have resulted either in a dissolution of the Union or civil war in the North. In either event, we should have lost our institutions. The stability of a republican government, and, indeed, of any form of free government, depends upon its possessing that kind of flexibility which yields easily to the control of public opinion. In this respect the English government is more pliable than our own, the administration being at all times subject to immediate change by losing the confidence of the representatives of the people; whereas, under our Constitution, an iron inflexibility can maintain itself in office for the full period of four years, without any possibility of displacing it except by revolution.

"In ordinary times, this works well enough; for the growth of opinion in any ordinary four years, could not be so rapid as to indispose the people to await the Presidential election. But when there was let loose upon us, at the beginning of the last Administration, the wild outbreakings of turbulence and treason, the development of opinion went forward with gigantic strides, corresponding in some degree to the violence and magnitude of the contest. *Any* policy which a Republican President might have adopted with decision in the spring of 1861, and adhered to with steadiness during the four years, would have exposed the government to be shivered into fragments by the shocks of changing opinion. What was wanting in the flexibility of our political system was made up in the character of Mr. Lincoln. Whatever may be thought of the absolute merits of the late President's administration—on which it would not be decorous to express our views on this occasion—it cannot well be denied that it has been, throughout, a tolerably faithful reflex of the predominant public opinion of the country. Whether that opinion was, at any particular stage, right and wise, is a different question; but it cannot be doubtful that the predominant opinion carries with it the predominance of physical strength. A government against which this is arrayed in

gathering force, must yield to it or go to pieces. Had Mr. Lincoln started with his emancipation policy in the spring of 1861, his administration would have been wrecked by the moral aid which would have been given the South by the northern conservatives, including a large part of the Republican party. Had he refused to adopt the emancipation policy much beyond the autumn of 1862, the Republican party would have refused public support to the war, and the South would have gained its independence by their aid. With a stiff Republican Senate, the government would have been at a dead lock, and the violence of opinion would have wrenched its conflicting parts asunder. Regarding the growth of opinion simply in the light of a *fact*, we must concede that Mr. Lincoln's slowness, indecision, and reluctant changes of policy have been in skillful, or at least fortunate, adaptation to the prevailing public sentiment of the country. Some have changed more rapidly, some more slowly than he; but there are few of his countrymen who have not changed at all.

"If we look for the elements of character which have contributed to the extraordinary and constantly growing popularity of Mr. Lincoln, they are not far to seek. The kindly, companionable, jovial turn of his disposition, free from every taint of affectation, puerile vanity, or *parvenu* insolence, conveyed a strong impression of worth, sense, and solidity, as well as goodness of heart. He never disclosed the slightest symptom that he was dazzled or elated by his great position, or that it was incumbent upon him to be any body but plain Abraham Lincoln. This was in infinitely better taste than would have been any attempt to put on manners that did not sit easily upon training and habits, under the false notion that he would be supporting the dignity of his office. No offence in manners is so intolerable as affectation; nor any thing so vulgar as a soul haunted by an uneasy consciousness of vulgarity. Mr. Lincoln's freedom from any such upstart affectations was one of the good

points of his character; it betokened his genuineness and sincerity.

"The conspicuous weakness of Mr. Lincoln's mind on the side of imagination, taste, and refined sensibility, has rather helped him in the estimation of the multitude. Except so far as they contribute something to dignity of character, these qualities have little scope in the pursuits of a statesman; and their misplaced obtrusion is always offensive. They are a great aid, to be sure, in electric appeals to the passions; but in times like these through which we have been living, the passions have needed sedatives, not incentives; and the cool mastery of emotion has deserved to rank among the chief virtues. Mr. Lincoln had no need of this virtue, because the sluggishness of his emotional nature shielded him against the corresponding temptation; but this defect has served him as well as the virtue amid the more inflammable natures with which he has been in contact. His character was entirely relieved from repulsive matter-of-fact hardness by the unaffected kindliness of his disposition and the flow of his homely and somewhat grotesque mother-wit—the most popular of all the minor mental endowments.

"The total absence from Mr. Lincoln's sentiments and bearing of any thing lofty or chivalric, and the hesitating slowness of his decisions, did not denote any feebleness of character. He has given a signal proof of a strong and manly nature in the fact that although he surrounded himself with the most considerable and experienced statesmen of his party, none of them were able to take advantage of his inexperience and gain any conspicuous ascendancy over him. All his chief designs have been his own; formed indeed, after much anxious and brooding consultation, but, in the final result, the fruit of his own independent volition. He has changed or retained particular members of his Cabinet, and indorsed or rejected particular dogmas of his party, with the same ultimate reliance on the decisions of his own judgment. It is this feature of his

character, which was gradually disclosed to the public view, together with the cautious and paternal cast of his disposition, that gave his strong and increasing hold on the confidence of the masses.

"Among the sources of Mr. Lincoln's influence, we must not omit to mention the quaint and peculiar character of his written and spoken eloquence. It was as completely his own, as much the natural outgrowth of his character, as his personal manners. Formed on no model, and aiming only at the most convincing statement of what he wished to say, it was terse, shrewd, clear, with a peculiar twist in the phraseology which more than made up in point what it sometimes lost by its uncouthness. On the multitude, who do not appreciate literary refinement, and despise literary affectation, its effect was as great as the same ideas and arguments could have produced by any form of presentation. His style had the great redeeming excellence of that air of straightforward sincerity which is worth all the arts of the rhetorician.

"The loss of such a man in such a crisis—of a man who possessed so large and growing a share of the public confidence, and whose Administration had recently borrowed new lustre from the crowning achievements of our armies—of a ruler whom victory was inspiring with the wise and paternal magnanimity which sought to make the conciliation as cordial as the strife has been deadly; the loss of such a President, at such a conjuncture, is an afflicting dispensation, which bows a disappointed and stricken nation in sorrow more deep, sincere, and universal than ever before supplicated the compassion of pitying heaven."

In New York, where countless banners waved in the sunlight of Good-Friday, whose citizens were holding a peerless carnival over the restoration of peace and union, the transition was as sudden as the assassination which called it forth. Within twenty-four hours the metropolis

seemed like a vast cemetery which held a million of pall-bearers. One of the principal features of the display was the rapidity with which it appeared. There was no preconcerted action among the community; each citizen felt, by instinct, his duty to the occasion; and the crape, sable cloth, and other emblems of mourning, sprung, as if by magic, from the stores and dwellings of rich and poor. Never did a city give greater evidence of sorrow. The silent thousands who walked with downcast heads and sad countenances through the streets, wore the mien of men who wander through a graveyard. Wall street forgot its gold, and organized an immense and grief-stricken public meeting, at which resolutions were passed, and stirring addresses made by General B. F. Butler, Hon. D. S. Dickinson and others. The theatres and other places of amusement were closed, and remained so until after the final interment of the President's remains. In obedience to a proclamation of the Mayor, places of business were closed, as indeed, they might have been without any official intimation, for business made no part of the doings of the busy metropolis on this day of overwhelming public grief. The courts, Boards of Aldermen, Common Councils, and other public bodies, adjourned, after passing resolutions of condolence with the nation upon its bereavement; and all the festivities which were in process of preparation for the next week, in celebration of the recent victories, were at once, by common consent, indefinitely postponed.

And the same scene was enacted in every city, in every town, village and hamlet of the land, from the Aroostook to the Land of Gold on the Pacific shore.

At Nashville, the procession, postponed from the previous day, was just forming when the news was received. Joy gave place to sorrow, the strains of exultation changed to funeral marches, and the military, with arms reversed, returned to their camps.

At Cincinnati, Columbus, Wheeling, Louisville, St. Louis, and even at San Francisco and the cities of California, the same scenes were repeated; and the spontaneous cessation of business, the closing of courts, the draping of the towns in mourning, evinced the sorrowful emotion of grief.

Even in the British Provinces marks of respect were shown. In Nova Scotia, the Governor was about to visit the Legislative Council, to give assent to the laws with the usual ceremonies, but on hearing of the sad news sent the following message to the Council:

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HALIFAX, N. S.,
Saturday, April 15, 1865.

"MY DEAR SIR:—Very shocking intelligence which has just reached me of the murder of President Lincoln by the hand of an assassin, and my sense of the loss which the cause of order has sustained by the death of a man whom I have always regarded as eminently upright in his intentions, indisposes me to make any public ceremony such as I had contemplated in my intended visit to the Legislative Council to-day. I beg, therefore, to notify to you the postponement of that visit, and, perhaps, under the circumstances, men of all parties may feel the suspension of further public business for the day would be a mark of sympathy not unbecoming the Legislature to offer, one which none could misconstrue. Believe me to be, very dear sir, your obedient servant,

"RICHARD GROVES MCDOWELL.

"TO EDWARD KINNEY,
"*President of the Legislative Council.*"

At Toronto, the flags on the custom house, and the shipping were displayed at half-mast, and Canadians there and elsewhere shared in the expressions manifested by resident Americans.

The bishops of the Catholic and Episcopal Churches, as well as the heads of other denominations, all promptly came forward to join in the public grief, and appointed special services for Wednesday, which had been set apart for the funeral.

In many of the Jewish synagogues, on the day of his death, prayers were offered for Mr. Lincoln, according to the ritual of that ancient people.

Among the many eloquent discourses pronounced on the following day, Sunday, we select a portion of the eloquent sermon delivered by the Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D.D., in All Souls' Church, New York, on Easter morning:

"It is, dear brethren, the faith and hope and trust of those inspired by the Comforter Jesus sent, that enables us to confront without utter dismay, the appalling visitation that has just fallen with such terrible suddenness upon the country and the national cause! With a heart almost withered, a brain almost paralyzed by the shock, I turn in vain for consolation to any other than the Comforter! Just as we were wreathing the laurels of our victories and the chaplets of our peace, in with the Easter flowers that bloom around the empty sepulchre of our ascended Lord; just as we were preparing the fit and luminous celebration of a nation's joy in its providential deliverance from a most bloody and costly war, and feeling that the resurrection of Christ was freshly and gloriously interpreted by the rising of our smitten, humiliated, reviled, and crucified country, buried in the distrust of foreign nations and the intentions of rebel hearts; a country rising from the tomb,

where she had left, as discarded grave-clothes, the accursed vestments of slavery, that had poisoned, enfeebled, and nearly destroyed her first life; a country rising to a higher, purer existence under the guidance of a chief whom it fondly thought sent from above to lead it cautiously, wisely, conscientiously, successfully, like another Moses, through the Red Sea into the promised land; just then, at the proud moment when the nation its four years of conflict fully sounded, had announced its ability to diminish its armaments, withdraw its call for troops and its restrictions on intercourse, comes as out of a clear heaven the thunderbolt that pierces the tender, sacred head that we were ready to crown with a nation's blessings, while trusting to its wisdom and gentleness, its faithfulness and prudence, the closing up of the country's wounds, and the apparelling of the nation, her armor laid aside, in the white robes of peace.

"Our beloved President, who had enshrined himself not merely in the confidence, the respect, and the gratitude of the people, but in their very hearts, as their true friend, adviser, representative, and brother; whom the nation loved as much as it revered; who had soothed our angry impatience in this fearful struggle with his gentle moderation and passionless calm; who had been the head of the nation, and not the chief of a successful party; and had treated our enemies like rebellious children, and not as foreign foes, providing even in their chastisement for mercy and penitent restoration; our prudent, firm, humble, reverential, God-fearing President is dead!

"The assassin's hand has reached him who was belted round with a nation's devotion, and whom a million soldiers have hitherto encircled with their watchful guardianship. Panoplied in honesty and simplicity of purpose, too universally well-disposed to believe in danger to himself, free from ambition, self-consequence, and show, he has always shown a fearless heart, gone often to the front, made himself accessible to all at home, trusted the people, joined their amusements, answered

their summons, and laid himself open every day to the malice and murderous chances of domestic foes. It seemed as if no man could raise his hand against that meek ruler, or confront with purpose of injury that loving eye, that sorrow-stricken face, ploughed with care, and watchings, and tears! So marked with upright patient purposes of good to all, of justice and mercy, of sagacious roundabout wisdom, was his homely paternal countenance, that I do not wonder that his murderer killed him from behind, and could not face the look that would have disarmed him in the very moment of his criminal madness.

"But he has gone! Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States during the most difficult, trying, and important period of the nation's history; safe conductor of our policy through a crisis such as no other people ever had to pass; successful summoner of a million and a quarter of American citizens to arms in behalf of their flag and their Union; author of the Proclamation of Emancipation; the people's President; the heir of Washington's place at the hearths and altars of the land; legitimate idol of the negro race—the perfect type of American democracy—the astute adviser of our generals in the field; the careful student of their strategy, and their personal friend and inspirer; the head of his Cabinet, prevailing by the passionless simplicity of his integrity and unselfish patriotism over the larger experience, the more brilliant gifts, the more vigorous purposes of his constitutional advisers; a President indeed; not the mere figure-head of the State, but its helmsman and pilot; shrinking from no perplexity, magnanimous in self-accusation and in readiness to gather into his own bosom the spears of rebuke aimed at his counsellors and agents; the tireless servant of his place; no duty so small and wearisome that he shirked it, none so great and persistent that he sought to fling it upon others; the man who fully tried (not without fitful vacillations of public sentiment which visited on him the difficulties of the times and situation), tried through

four years in which every quality of the man, the statesman, the Christian, was tested; in the face of a jeering enemy and foreign sneers and domestic ribaldry, elected again by overwhelming majorities, to be their chief and their representative during another term of office, in which it was supposed even superior qualities and services would be required to meet the nation's exigencies. This tried, this honored, this beloved head of the government and country is, alas! suddenly snatched from us at the moment of our greatest need and our greatest joy, and taken up higher to his heavenly reward! Thank God, he knew how the nation loved and reverenced him! His re-election was the most solid proof of that which could possibly have been given. He has tasted, too, the negro's pious gratitude and tearful, glorious affection! He had lived to give the order for ceasing our preparations for war—an act almost equivalent to proclaiming peace! He had seen of the travail of his soul, and was satisfied. He had done the work of a life in his first term of service; almost every day of his second term, not forty days old, had been marked with victories, until no good news could have been received that would have much swelled his joy and honest pride! And now, as the typical figure, the historic name of this great era, its glory rounded and full, the Almighty Wisdom has seen fit to close the record, and isolate the special work he has done, lest by any possible mischance the flawless beauty and symmetric oneness of the President's career should be impaired, its unique glory compromised by after issues, or its special lustre mixed with rays of another color, though it might be of an equal splendor!

"The past, at least, is secure! Nothing can touch him further. Standing the central form in the field of this mighty, providential struggle, he fitly represents the purity, calmness, justice, and mercy of the loyal American people; their unconquered resolution to conquer secession and break slavery in pieces; their sober, mild sense; their religious confidence that God is on their side, and their cause the cause of universal

humanity! Let us be reconciled to the appointment which has released that weighty and patient head, that pathetic tender heart, that worn and weary hand, from the perplexing details of national rehabilitation. Let the lesser, meaner cares and anxieties of the country fall on other shoulders than those which have borne up the pillars of the nation when shaken with the earthquake.

"And seeing it is God who has afflicted us, who doeth all things well, let us believe that it is expedient for us that our beloved chief should go away. He goes to consecrate his work by flinging his life as well as his labors and his conscience into the nation's cause. He that has cheered so many on to bloody sacrifice, found unexpected, surprising opportunity to give also his own blood! He died, as truly as any warrior dies on the battle-field, in the nation's service, and shed his blood for her sake! It was the nation that was aimed at by the bullet that stilled his aching brain. As the representative of a cause, the type of a victory, he was singled out and slain! His life and career now have the martyr's palm added to the statesman's, philanthropist's, and patriot's crowns. His place is sure in the innermost shrine of his country's gratitude. His name will match with Washington's, and go with it laden with blessings down to the remotest posterity!

"And may we not have needed this loss, in which we gain a national martyr and an ascended leader, to inspire us from his heavenly seat, where with the other father of his country he sits in glory, while they send united benedictions and lessons of comfort and of guidance down upon their common children—may we not have needed this loss to sober our hearts in the midst of our national triumph, lest in the excess of our joy and our pride we should overstep the bounds of that prudence and the limits of that earnest seriousness which our affairs demand? We have stern and solemn duties yet to perform, great and anxious tasks to achieve. We must not, after ploughing the fields with the burning share of civil war, and

fertilizing them with the blood and bones of a half million noble youth, lose the great harvest by wasting the short season of ingathering in festive joy at its promise and its fulness! We have, perhaps, been prematurely glad. In the joy of seeing our haven in view, we have been disposed to slacken the cordage and let the sails flap idly, and the hands go below, when the storm was not fairly over, nor all the breakers out of sight! God has startled us, to apprize us of our peril; to warn us of possible mischances, and to caution us how we abuse our confidence and overtrust our enemy. I hope and pray that the nation may feel itself, by the dreadful calamity that has befallen it, summoned to its knees; called to a still more pious sense of its dependence, toned up to its duties, and compelled to watch with the most eager patience the course of its generals, its statesmen, and its press. It cannot be for nothing vast and important that the venerated and beloved head of this people and his chief counsellor and companion have thus been brought low in an hour, one to his very grave, the other to the gates of death!

"It would seem as if every element of tragic power and pathos were fated to enter this rebellion and mark it out forever as a warning to the world. It really began in the Senate House, when the bludgeon of South Carolina felled the State of Massachusetts and the honor of the Union in the person of a brave and eloquent Senator. The shot at Fort Sumter was not so truly the fatal beginning of the war as the blow in the Senate Chamber. That blow proclaimed the barbarism, the cruelty, the stealthiness, the treachery, the recklessness of reason and justice, the contempt of prudence and foresight which a hundred years of legalized oppression and inhumanity had bred in the South! And now, that blow, deepening into thunder, echoes from the head of th Chief Magistrate, as if slavery could not be dismissed forever, until her barbaric cruelty, her reckless violence, her political blasphemy, had illustrated itself upon the most conspicuous arena, under the most damning light and the

most memorable and unforgetable circumstances in which crime was ever yet committed!

"And in the same hour that the thoughtful, meek, and care-worn head of the President was smitten to death—a head that had sunk to its pillow for so many months full of unembittered, gentle, conciliatory, yet anxious and watchful thoughts—the neck on which the President had leaned with an affectionate confidence that was half womanly, during all his administration, was assailed with the bowie-knife, which stands for southern vengeance, and slavery's natural weapon! The voice of the free North, the tongue and throat of liberty, was fitly assailed, when slavery and secession would exhibit her dying feat of malignant revenge. Through the channels of that neck had flowed for thirty years, the temperate, persistent, strong, steady currents of this nation's resistance to the encroachments of the slave-power, of this people's aspirations for release from the curse and the peril of a growing race of slaves. That throat had voiced the nation's argument in the Senate Chamber. The arm that had written the great series of letters which defended the nation from the schemes of foreign diplomatists, was already accidentally broken; the jaw that had so eloquently moved was dislocated too; but slavery remembered the neck that bowed not when most others were bent to her power; remembered the throat that was vocal in her condemnation when most others in public life were silent from policy or fear: remembered the words of him, who more than any man, slew her with his tongue: and so her last assault was upon the jugular veins of the Secretary of State. Her bloodhounds sprang at the throat of him who had denied their right and broken their power to spring at the neck of the slave himself!

"But thus far, thank God, slavery is baffled in her last effort. Mr. Seward lives to tell us what no man knows so well, the terrible perils through which we have passed at home and abroad; lives to tell us the goodness, the wisdom, the piety of the President he was never weary of praising. "He is the best

man I ever knew," he said to me a year ago. What a eulogy from one so experienced, so acute, so wise, so gentle! Ah, brethren, the head of the government is gone; but he, who knew his counsels, and was his other self, still lives, and may God hear to-day a nation's prayer for his life.

"Meanwhile heaven rejoices this Easter morning in the resurrection of our lost leader, honored in the day of his death; dying on the anniversary of our Lord's great sacrifice, a mighty sacrifice himself for the sins of a whole people.

"We will not grudge him his release, or selfishly recall him from his rest and his reward! The only unpitied object in this national tragedy, he treads to-day the courts of light, radiant with the joy that even in heaven celebrates our Saviour's resurrection from the dead! The sables we hang in our sanctuaries and streets have no place where he is! His hearse is plumed with a nation's grief; his resurrection is hailed with the songs of revolutionary patriots, of soldiers that have died for their country. He, the commander-in-chief, has gone to his army of the dead! The patriot President has gone to our Washington! The meek and lowly Christian is to-day with him who said on earth, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," and who, rising to-day, fulfills his glorious words, "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whoso liveth and believeth in me shall never die."

At St. Patrick's (Roman Catholic) Cathedral, New York, after the pontifical mass was finished, Archbishop McCloskey, from the steps of the altar, spoke as follows:

"You will, I trust, beloved brethren, pardon me if, notwithstanding the length of the services at which you have been assisting, I should ask the privilege of trespassing for a few moments more upon your patience. The privilege I ask is, indeed, a sad and mournful one, a privilege that I have reserved for myself alone; for the reason that I could not, and that I

cannot, without injustice to my own feelings, and, I am sure, to your feelings also, allow myself to forego it; and that privilege, as you doubtless already anticipate, is of addressing to you at least a few brief and imperfect words in regard to the great, and, I may say, the awful calamity which has so unexpectedly and so suddenly fallen upon our beloved and now still more than ever afflicted country. But two days ago we beheld the rejoicings of an exultant people, mingling even with the sorrowful memory of our Saviour's crucifixion. To-day we behold that same people's sorrow mingling with the grand rejoicings of our Saviour's resurrection. It is, indeed, a sad and a sudden transformation. It is a mornful—it is even a startling contrast. The Church could not divest herself of her habiliments of woe in Good Friday, neither can she now lay aside her festive robes, nor hush her notes of joy, gladness, and thanksgiving on this, her glorious Easter Sunday. Still, although as children of the Church we must and do participate in all her sentiments of joy, yet, at the same time, as children of the nation, as children of this republic, we do not less sincerely, or less feelingly, or less largely, share in that nation's grief and sorrow. * * * * Our hopes are stronger, far stronger, than our fears; our trust and confidence in a good, gracious, and merciful God is stronger than the foreshadowings of what may be awaiting us in the future; and it is to him to-day, in our trials and adversities, we raise our voices in supplication. Him we beseech to give light to those who are and who are to be the rulers of the destinies of our nation, that he may give life and safety and peace to our beloved country. We pray that those sentiments of mercy, of clemency, and of conciliation, that filled the heart of the beloved President we have just lost, may animate the breast and guide the actions of him who in this most trying hour is called to fill his place. And we may take comfort, beloved brethren, in the thought that in the latest intelligence which has reached us, the honored Secretary of State (a man full of years and of honors), who was, like his superior, stricken down by the hand

of a ruthless assassin, still lives, and well-founded hopes are entertained of his final recovery. Let us pray, then, that a life always valuable, but in this critical state of affairs dear to every one of us, may be long preserved, and that the new President may have the advantage of the wisdom, the experience, and the prudence of this honored Secretary of State. I need not tell you, my beloved brethren, children of the Catholic Church, to leave nothing undone to show your devotion, your attachment, and your fidelity to the institutions of your country in this great crisis, this trying hour. I need not ask you to omit nothing in joining in every testimonial of respect and honor to the memory of that President, now, alas! no more. On whatever day may be appointed for his obsequies, although the solemn dirge of requiem cannot resound within these walls, yet the dirge of sorrow, of grief, and of bewailing, can echo and re-echo within your hearts. And, on that day, whenever it may be, the doors of this cathedral shall be thrown open, that you, beloved brethren, may bow down before this altar, adoring the inscrutable decrees of a just and all-wise Providence, beseeching his mercy on us all, and imploring him, that now at least his anger may be appeased, and the cruel scourge of war cease, and that those rivers and torrents of human blood, of fratricidal blood, that have been saturating for so long a time the soil of our beloved country may no longer flow over our unhappy land. Yes, let us pray, while almost even in sight of that deed of horror, which, like an electric shock, has come upon and appalled our fellow-citizens in every section of the land—let us pray to him that we may now forget our enmities, and that we may be enabled to restore that peace which has so long been broken. Let us take care, beloved brethren, that no spirit of retribution or of wicked spite, or of malice, or resentment, shall, at this moment, take possession of our hearts. The hand of God is upon us; let us take care that we do not provoke him to bow us down with misery and woe. Even over the grave of the illustrious departed who has been taken from us, over

the graves of so many enemies and friends, in every section of the land, fallen in the deadly conflict, let us hope that those who are spared, who are still living, may come and join their hands together in sweet forgiveness; and let us pledge ourselves, one to the other, that we will move and act together in unity and in perpetual and divine peace."

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, who had been absent upon the excursion to Fort Sumter, not arriving in season to pronounce a discourse on that day, delivered at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, on the ensuing Sunday, the following sermon:

DISCOURSE OF REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

"And Moses went up from the plains of Moab, unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho: and the Lord showed him the land of Gilead, unto Dan.

"And all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea,

"And the South, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm-trees, unto Zoar.

"And the Lord said unto him, This is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.

"So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the Land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord."

"There is no historic figure more noble than that of the Jewish lawgiver. After many thousand years the figure of Moses is not diminished, but stands up against the background of early days, distinct and individual as if he lived but yesterday. There is scarcely another event in history more touching than his death. He had borne the great burdens of state for forty years, shaped the Jews to a nation, filled out their civil and religious polity, administered their laws, and guided their steps, or dwelt with them in all their sojourning in the wilder-

ness, had mourned in their punishment, kept step with their marches, and led them in wars, until the end of their labors drew nigh, the last stages were reached, and Jordan only lay between them and the promised land. The promised land! Oh what yearnings had heaved his breast for that divinely promised place! He had dreamed of it by night, and mused by day; it was holy, and endeared as God's favored spot; it was to be the cradle of an illustrious history. All his long, laborious, and now weary life, he had aimed at this as the consummation of every desire, the reward of every toil and pain. Then came the word of the Lord to him, 'Thou must not go over. Get thee up into the mountain, look upon it, and die.' From that silent summit the hoary leader gazed to the north, to the south, to the west, with hungry eyes. The dim outlines rose up, the hazy recesses spoke of quiet valleys. With eager longing, with sad resignation, he looked upon the promised land that was now the forbidden land. It was a moment of anguish. He forgot all his personal wants, and drank in the vision of his people's home. His work was done. There lay God's promise fulfilled. There was the seat of coming Jerusalem—there the city of Jehovah's King, the sphere of judges and prophets, the mount of sorrow and salvation, the country whence were to fly blessings to all mankind. Joy chased sadness from every feature, and the prophet laid him down and died. Again a great leader of the people has passed through toil, sorrow, battle, and war, and came near to the promised land of peace, into which he might not pass over. Who shall recount our martyr's sufferings for this people? Since the November of 1860, his horizon has been black with storms. By day and by night he trod a way of danger and darkness. On his shoulders rested a government, dearer to him than his own life. At its life millions were striking at home; upon it foreign eyes were lowered, and it stood like a lone island in a sea full of storms, and every tide and wave seemed eager to devour it. Upon thousands of hearts great sorrows and

anxieties have rested, but upon not one such, and in such measure, as upon that simple, truthful, noble soul, our faithful and sainted Lincoln. Never rising to the enthusiasm of more impassioned natures in hours of hope, and never sinking with the mercurial in hours of defeat to the depths of despondency, he held on with unmovable patience and fortitude, putting caution against hope, that it might not be premature, and hope against caution that it might not yield to dread and danger. He wrestled ceaselessly through four black and dreadful purgatorial years, when God was cleansing the sins of this people as by fire. At last the watchman beheld the gray dawn. The mountains began to give forth their forms from out of the darkness, and the East came rushing towards us with arms full of joy for all our sorrows. Then it was for him to be glad exceedingly that had sorrowed immeasurably. Peace could bring to no other heart such joy, such rest, such honor, such trust, such gratitude. He but looked upon it as Moses looked upon the promised land. Then the wail of a nation proclaimed that he had gone from among us. Not thine the sorrow, but ours.

"Sainted soul, thou hast indeed entered the promised rest, while we are yet on the march. To us remains the rocking of the deep, the storm upon the land, days of duty and nights of watching; but thou art sphered above all darkness and fear, beyond all sorrow or weariness. Rest, O weary heart! Rejoice exceedingly, thou that hast enough suffered. Thou hast beheld him who invariably led thee in this great wilderness. Thou standest among the elect; around thee are the royal men that have ennobled human life in every age; kingly art thou, with glory on thy brow as a diadem, and joy is upon thee for evermore! Over all this land, over all the little cloud of years that now, from thine infinite horizon, waver back from thee as a spark, thou art lifted up as high as the star is above the clouds that hide *us*, but never reach *it*. In the goodly company of Mount Zion thou shalt find that rest which so

many have sought in vain, and thy name, an everlasting name in heaven, shall flourish in fragrance and beauty as long as men shall last upon the earth, or hearts remain to revere truth, fidelity, and goodness. Never did two such orbs of experience meet in the same hemisphere as the joy and sorrow of the same week in this land. The joy was as sudden as if no man had expected it, and as entrancing as if it had fallen from heaven. It rose up over sobriety, and swept business from its moorings, and down through the land in irresistible course. Men wept and embraced each other; they sang or prayed, or deeper yet, could only think thanksgiving and weep gladness. That peace was sure—that government was firmer than ever—the land was cleansed of plague—that ages were opening to our footsteps, and we were to begin a march of blessings—that blood was stanched, and scowling enmities sinking like spent storms beneath the horizon—that the dear fatherland, nothing lost but much gained, was to rise up in unexampled honor among the nations of the earth—these thoughts, and that undistinguishable throng of fancies, and hopes, and desires, and yearnings, that filled the soul with tremblings like the heated air of midsummer days—all these kindled up such a surge of joy as no words may describe. In an hour, joy lay without a pulse, without a gleam of breath. A sorrow came that swept through the land, as huge storms swept through the forest and field, rolling thunder along the skies, dishevelling the flames and daunting every singer in the thicket or forest, and pouring blackness and darkness across the land and up the mountains.

"Did ever so many hearts in so brief a time touch two such boundless feelings? It was the uttermost joy and the uttermost of sorrow—noon and midnight without space between. The blow brought not a sharp pang. It was so terrible that at first it stunned sensibility. Citizens were like men awakened at midnight by an earthquake, and bewildered to find every thing that they were accustomed to trust wavering and falling. The very earth was no longer solid. The first feeling was the

least. Men waited to get strength to feel. They wandered in the streets as if groping after some impending dread, or undeveloped sorrow. They met each other as if each would ask the other, 'Am I awake, or do I dream?' There was a piteous helplessness. Strong men bowed down and wept. Other and common griefs belong to some one in chief, they are private property; but this was each man's and every man's. Every virtuous household in the land felt as if its first-born were gone. Men took it home. They were bereaved, and walked for days as if a corpse lay unburied in their dwellings. There was nothing else to think of. They could speak of nothing but that, and yet of that they could speak only falteringly. All business was laid aside, pleasure forgot to smile. The city for nearly a week ceased to roar, and great Leviathan laid down and was still. Even Avarice stood still, and Greed was strangely moved to generous sympathy with universal sorrow. Rear to his name monuments, found charitable institutions, and with his name above their heights, but no monument will ever equal the universal, spontaneous, and sublime sorrow that in a moment swept down lines and parties, and covered up animosities, and in an hour brought a divided people with unity of grief and indivisible fellowship of anguish! For myself, I cannot yet command that quietness of spirit needed for a just and temperate delineation of a man whom Goodness had made great. I pass, then, to some considerations aside from the martyr President's character, reserving that for a future occasion, which are appropriate to this time and place. And, first, let us not mourn that his departure was so sudden, nor fill our imagination with horror at its method. When good men pray for deliverance from hidden death, it is only that they may not be plunged, without preparation and all disrobed, into the presence of the Judge. Men long eluding and evading sorrow, when suddenly overtaken, seem enchanted to make it great to the uttermost—a habit which is not Christian, although it is doubtless natural. When one is ready to depart, suddenness

is a blessing. It is a painful sight to see a tree overthrown by a tornado, wrenched from its foundation and broken down like a reed; but it is yet more painful to see a vast and venerable tree lingering with vain strife, when age and infirmity have marked it for destruction. The process of decay is a spectacle humiliating and painful; but it seems good and grand for one to go from duty done with pulse high, with strength full and nerve strong, terminating a noble life in a fitting manner.

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"Even he who now sleeps has, by this event, been clothed with new influence. Dead, he speaks to men who now willingly hear what before they shut their ears to. Like the words of Washington will his simple, mighty words be pondered on by your children and children's children. Men will receive a new accession to their love of patriotism, and will for his sake guard with more zeal the welfare of the whole country. On the altar of this martyred patriot I swear you to be more faithful to your country. They will, as they follow his hearse, swear a new hatred to that slavery which has made him a martyr. By this solemn spectacle I swear you to renewed hostility to slavery, and to a never-ending pursuit of it to its grave. They will admire and imitate his firmness in justice, his inflexible conscience for the right, his gentleness and moderation of spirit, and I swear you to a faithful copy of his justice, his mercy, and his gentleness. You I can comfort, but how can I speak to the twilight millions who revere his name as the name of God? Oh, there will be wailing for him in hamlet and cottage, in woods and wilds, and the fields of the South. Her dusky children looked on him as on a Moses come to lead them out from the land of bondage. To whom can we direct them but to the Shepherd of Israel, and to his care commit them for help, for comfort, and protection? And now the martyr is moving in triumphal march, mightier than when alive. The nation rises up at his coming. Cities and States are his pall-bearers, and cannon beat the hours with solemn

procession. Dead! dead! dead! he yet speaketh! Is Washington dead? Is Hampden dead? Is David dead? Now, disenthralled of flesh, and risen to the unobstructed sphere where passion never comes, he begins his illimitable work. His life is grafted upon the Infinite, and will be fruitful now as no earthly life can be. Pass on, thou that hast overcome! Your sorrows, O people, are his pæan! Your bells, and bands, and muffled drum sound in his ear a triumph. You wail and weep here. God makes it triumph there. Four years ago, O Illinois, we took him from your midst, an untried man from among the people. Behold, we return him a mighty conqueror. Not thine, but the nation's; not ours, but the world's! Give him place, ye prairies! In the midst of this great continent, his dust shall rest a sacred treasure to millions who shall pilgrim to that shrine, to kindle anew their zeal and patriotism. Ye winds that move over the mighty spaces of the West, chant his requiem. Ye people, behold a martyr whose blood as articulate words pleads for fidelity, for law, for liberty."

In Europe the news of the President's death produced a sensation as profound as it was unexpected. Public attention had been already wound to the highest point of tension, by the rush of events which preceded the collapse of the rebellion. Information of Sherman's gigantic and triumphant march, of the fall of Richmond, of the retreat and surrender of Lee, of the critical position and paralization of Johnston—had been received by one American steamer after another—till the public were fairly breathless with astonishment. And then, like a thunder-clap in a clear sky, came the horrible news that the great leader of a great nation, had been struck down by the cowardly hand of the assassin, even in the culminating hour of his people's triumph.

The public at large, the press, the civic bodies, the House of Commons, nay, even the House of Lords, and the Queen, all hastened to express their grief, horror, and sympathy.

The London *Times* says:

"The intelligence of the assassination of President Lincoln and of the attempt to assassinate Mr. Seward, caused a most extraordinary sensation in the city on Wednesday. Towards noon the news became known, and it spread rapidly from mouth to mouth in all directions. At first, many were incredulous as to the truth of the rumor, and some believed it to have been set afloat for purposes in connection with the stock exchange. The house of Peabody & Co., American bankers, in Broad street, had received early intelligence of the assassination, and from there the news was carried to the Bank of England, whence it quickly radiated in a thousand directions. Meanwhile it was being wafted far and wide by the second editions of the morning papers, and was supplemented later in the day by the publication of additional particulars. Shortly after twelve o'clock it was communicated to the Lord Mayor while he was sitting in the justice-room of the Mansion House, and about the same time the 'star-spangled banner' was hoisted half-mast high over the American consulate, at the corner of Gracechurch street. The same flag had but a few days before floated in triumph from the same place on the entry of the Federals into Richmond, and still later on the surrender of General Lee. Between one and two o'clock the third edition of the *Times*, containing a circumstantial narrative of the affair, made its appearance in the city, and became immediately in extraordinary demand. A newsvender in the Royal Exchange was selling it at half-a-crown a copy, and by half past three o'clock it could not be had for money. The excitement caused by the intelligence was everywhere manifest, and in the streets, on the rail, on the river, in the law courts, the terrible event was the

theme of conversation. Throughout the remainder of the day, the evening papers were sold in unexampled numbers, and often at double and treble the ordinary price, all evincing the universal interest felt at the astounding intelligence. On the receipt of the melancholy intelligence in the House of Commons, about sixty members of all parties immediately assembled, and signed the following address of sympathy to the American Minister:

"'We, the undersigned, members of the British House of Commons, have learnt with the deepest horror and regret, that the President of the United States of America has been deprived of life by an act of violence, and we desire to express our sympathy on the sad event with the American minister, now in London, as well as to declare our hope and confidence in the future of that great country, which we trust will continue to be associated with enlightened freedom and peaceful relations with this and every other country.

"'LONDON, *April* 29, 1865.'"

On Saturday evening, the 29th of April, an immense public meeting convened, under the auspices of the Emancipation Society, in St. James's Hall, to express feelings of grief and horror at the assassination of President Lincoln, and sympathy with the government and people of the United States, and with Mrs. Lincoln, Mr. Seward and family. The galleries of the hall were draped in black, and over the end of the gallery hung the American flag. The hall was crowded with an audience who manifested not merely their warm admiration of the character and capacity of the late President, and sincere sympathy with the people of the United States in the loss sustained, but their hearty approval of the great cause Mr. Lincoln represented.

The platform contained an array of Parliamentary

gentlemen, and many leading citizens of the metropolis. Many ladies were present, a majority of whom were in mourning.

Various resolutions were carried, not merely with unanimity, but with an intense feeling rarely seen at public meetings.

In Liverpool the excitement was equally great.

"The scene on the Exchange," says an English paper, "was such as will not be forgotten for a long time. At half past eleven it was announced that the secretary and treasurer of the Liverpool Exchange News Rooms was in possession of the news. A terrible rush took place from the 'flags' into the news room; and after a few minutes it was announced that the secretary would read aloud the despatch from the bar of the news room. All was now silent. The passage wherein it was stated that President Lincoln had been shot at, caused no great dismay; but when the master of the rooms read, 'The President never rallied, and died this morning,' there was a general expression of horror. Certainly there was one dissentient voice, which had the temerity to exclaim 'Hurrah!' His presence in the news room was of short duration, for, being seized by the collar by as good a southerner as there is in Liverpool, he was summarily ejected from the room, the gentleman who first seized him exclaiming, 'Be off, you incarnate fiend! you are an assassin at heart.' In the course of the afternoon the flags on the American consul's house and the Exchange buildings were placed at half-mast; and a deputation, irrespective of American party feelings, proceeded to the Town Hall, in order to consult with the Mayor as to the desirability of holding a public meeting for the purpose of sending out an address of condolence to the people of the United States. The Mayor being absent, no definite arrangement was arrived at, but the Deputy Mayor gave orders that the Town Hall flag should be

at once hoisted half-mast. The American ships, in the river and in the docks, as soon as the news was known, hoisted 'half-high' flags, and in many instances the union jack and the stars and stripes were bound together with crape or black cloth. The President of the *Southern Club* convened a meeting of all the members, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it was desirable to take any official action upon the event. The members of the club were unanimous in their expression of abhorrence and reprobation of the foul deed."

On the afternoon of the 27th, a meeting of the merchants was held at St. George's Hall, at which the Mayor presided, and several leading merchants made speeches denouncing the crime and expressing sympathy with the people of the United States in strong terms. A resolution, expressing sorrow and indignation, regardless of all differences of opinion politically, was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be sent to the American minister at London, to Mrs. Lincoln, and to Mr. Seward.

On the evening of the same day, and at the same place, there was another great meeting of the working classes, at which similar resolutions were adopted.

In the House of Lords, May 1st, Earl Russell concluded by moving an humble address to her Majesty to express the sorrow and indignation of this House at the assassination of the President of the United States, and to pray her Majesty to communicate these sentiments on the part of this House to the government of the United States; and Earl Derby also made a feeling speech.

The Queen, also, sent to Mrs. Lincoln an autograph letter of condolence.

In Paris on the very day the terrible news was received M. Drouyn de L'huys, Minister of Foreign Affairs, de-

spatched a letter to Mr. Bigelow expressive of his sorrow, and immediately upon the return of our minister from Brest (whither he had gone to participate in the ceremony of the opening of a new line of railway), he was waited upon by an aid-de-camp of the Emperor, who expressed to him the personal regret of his Majesty at the severe loss to the nation and his horror of the crime. On Mr. Bigelow's return he was overwhelmed with letters of condolence from all parts of Europe, and received calls from several members of the opposition in the Corps Legislatif, as well as from a considerable number of literary men and others who have always sympathized with our cause. A large number also called at the Consulate, and, in accordance with the custom here, subscribed their names in token of condolence.

One of the most remarkable and noteworthy demonstrations was that made by the *Jeunesse d'Ecoles*—the students of the Latin quarter. Nearly a thousand of these young men formed in procession for the purpose of proceeding to the American minister's to present to him an appropriate address.

Solemn services were also held at the American Episcopal chapel, which were attended by a large assemblage of French and Americans.

The Princess Murat, who is an American lady, was present, as were also General Franconniere and the Prince Napoleon, M. Berryer, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Eugene Pelletan, Prevost Paradol, and a considerable number of literary men.

Henry Martin, the historian, wrote in one of the Parisian journals, a brilliant eulogium on Mr. Lincoln, whom he styled "the great martyr of democracy."

In the Corps Legislatif, soon after the opening of that body, the Minister of State communicated to that body the following despatch sent by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to their representative at Washington, as follows:

"MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
PARIS, *April* 28, 1865.

"The news of the crime of which President Lincoln has fallen a victim has caused a profound sentiment of indignation in the imperial government. His Majesty immediately charged one of his aides-de-camp to call upon the minister of the United States to request him to transmit the expression of this sentiment to Mr. Johnson, now invested with the Presidency. I, myself, desired by the despatch which I addressed you, under date of yesterday, to acquaint you, without delay, of the painful emotion which we have experienced; and it becomes my duty to-day, in conformity with the views of the Emperor, to render a merited homage to the great citizen whose loss the United States now deplore.

"Elevated to the Chief Magistracy of the republic by the suffrage of his country, Abraham Lincoln exhibited in the exercise of the power placed in his hands the most substantial qualities. In him firmness of character was allied with elevation of principle, and his vigorous soul never wavered before the redoubtable trials reserved for his government. At the moment when an atrocious crime removed him from the mission which he fulfilled with a religious sentiment of duty, he was convinced that the triumph of his policy was definitely assured. His recent proclamations are stamped with the sentiments of moderation with which he was inspired in resolutely proceeding to the task of reorganizing the Union and consolidating peace. The supreme satisfaction of accomplishing this work has not been accorded him; but in reviewing these last testimonies to his exalted wisdom, as well as the examples of good sense, of courage, and of patriotism, which he has given, history will not

hesitate to place him in the rank of citizens who have the most honored their country. By order of the Emperor, I transmit this despatch to the Minister of State, who is charged to communicate it to the Senate and the Corps Legislatif. France will unanimously associate itself with the sentiment of his Majesty.

"Receive, &c., &c., DROUYN DE LHUYS,

"M. DE GEOFRY, *Chargé d' Affaires de France à Washington.*"

This was followed by eloquent remarks by several distinguished members.

In Italy, the Chamber of Deputies, at Rome, was draped in black on the twenty-seventh, and continued so for the three following days, in mourning for Abraham Lincoln. The Minister of Finance moved, and the Chamber agreed, to send the following address to the American Congress, expressing the grief of the country and the House at Mr. Lincoln's assassination.

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:—*Honorable Sir:* The intelligence of the assassination of President Lincoln has moved and profoundly grieved the deputies of the Italian Parliament. From all the political factions of which this Chamber is composed one unanimous cry has arisen denouncing the detestable crime that has been committed, and conveying the expression of deep regret and sympathy for the illustrious victim and the free people whose worthy ruler he was. This Chamber has unanimously resolved to cover its flag with crape for the space of three days, in token of mourning, and has charged me to notify you in a special message its grief, which is also that of Italy, and of all friends of liberty and civilization. The news of the attempt made to assassinate Mr. Seward has inspired the Chamber with like sentiments. In readily, though sadly, fulfilling the mission with which I have

been charged, I beg you will accept, Honorable Sir, the assurance of my sympathy and consideration. CASSINIS,

"Presideni of the Chamber of Deputies."

The King of Belgium charged one of his aides-de-camp to visit Mr. Sanford, and express the feelings his Majesty experienced at the attacks made upon the President and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United States. The Count of Flanders also sent one of his orderly officers to the American minister for the same purpose. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and the other members of the Cabinet also lost no time in paying their respects to Mr. Sanford, and instructions were forwarded to the Belgian Legation at Washington to express to the American government the sentiments of regret and reprobation excited by such disgraceful acts. At Saturday's sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, M. le Hardy de Beaulieu stated, in the most sympathizing terms, the emotion produced in Belgium by the news of the tragic event, and recalled all the claims of President Lincoln to general consideration. M. de Haerne spoke in the same sense with much feeling. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that the government fully agreed with the sentiments which had just been expressed, and that it had already conveyed its opinion to the government of the United States and their representatives at Brussels. He added his sincerest good wishes for the recovery of Mr. Seward, whose life he considered highly important for the definitive pacification of the country so long desolated by the war, and whose prosperity was earnestly desired by all the friends of liberty.

In Prussia the news of the death of Mr. Lincoln was

received with the deepest concern. Herr Loewe, one of the most active and influential members of the Lower House, rose at the first sitting to devote a few solemn and admiring words to the memory of the deceased republican statesman, and to introduce an address of condolence, which he had drawn up for presentation to Mr. Judd, the American minister to that country. He concluded by saying:

"Gentlemen," permit me to request your attention to a subject which, though not coming within the limits of our immediate task, is yet one of the gravest interest to us, and, indeed, the world at large. Many of the honorable members have felt it a duty, on the occasion of the untimely death of Mr. Lincoln, to give expression to their sincere sympathy with the nation who now mourn his loss. Abraham Lincoln has been taken away in the hour of triumph. I trust that the task he so faithfully conducted in the service of a great and glorious people will be completed by his successor; and while I cannot but congratulate myself on the earnest and most effective support he received from so many of our countrymen on the other side of the ocean, I wish to assure the German Americans, as well as the Americans generally, that we glory in their glories and sorrow in their sorrows. * * *

"As it might be contrary to rules to move for the House entering into communication with a foreign diplomatist, I invite such of you as are disposed to share in our condolences to send in your signatures privately, and pay your respect to the deceased, who was a faithful servant no less of his commonwealth than of civilization, of freedom and humanity."

At the close of the speech the House rose in token of respectful assent. The conservatives alone and a few ultramontanes, who, from political motives, kept their

seats, also declared, through the mouths of some of their leaders, that they shared the horror and indignation of the other parties.

In Berlin, a solemn service was held May 2d, in the honor of President Lincoln, at the Dorothea church; at which numerous deputations were present, and the King was officially represented by his aides-de-camp. The edifice was crowded.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.

The Body of Mr. Lincoln lies in State in the White House.—It rests in the National Capitol.—Mourning throughout the land.—The Funeral Cortege commences its route to Springfield, Ill.—Scenes by the way.—At Baltimore.—At Philadelphia.—At Newark and Jersey City.—It reaches New York.—The Farewell Procession.—To Albany.—From there to Buffalo.—At Cleveland.—At Columbus.—At Chicago.—It reaches Springfield, Ill.—The final rites and sepulture.—The Assassin and his end.—The fate of the other conspirators.—Punch's Tribute to Lincoln's Memory.

Mr. Lincoln's body having been properly embalmed and prepared for the grave, was laid in state in the "Green Room" of the Presidential mansion—in a splendid coffin, and within a grand catafalque. Here, surrounded by the sad emblems of woe, and covered with the costliest and rarest floral tributes of affection, it rested until noon of Wednesday, the 19th of April. Then, after appropriate funeral rites, it was removed, with an imposing military procession, and attended by an immense concourse of people, to the rotunda of the national Capitol.

The corpse of the President was placed beneath a splendid catafalque, and left in state, watched by guards of officers with drawn swords. And so through the starry night, in the fane of the great Union he had strengthened and recovered, the ashes of Abraham Lincoln, zealously guarded, lay in calm repose.

Wednesday, the day on which these obsequies took

place at Washington, was, in accordance with the request of the Department of State, observed as a day of mourning by the whole American people. Public authorities and the heads of religious denominations, moved as by a common impulse, called upon the nation to unite in prayer in their several places of worship; while at the Capitol of the nation the last solemn rites were offered in the home of the lost ruler ere he was borne from the residence of American Presidents to the Capitol, where he was to lie in state till his corpse began its march of hundreds of miles, before it reached the city of the West identified with his earlier career.

Throughout the loyal States a universal suspension of ordinary avocations and a closing of places of business, testified the popular respect to the departed. Every city, town, and village was hung in black, while the solemn tolling of the bells and the booming of the minute-guns added to the general solemnity. Stores and offices were closed; the noise of traffic and amusement hushed; a Sabbath repose rested on the land. Churches were crowded with worshippers, and the clergy in fitting discourses paid their homage to departed greatness, their testimony of affection to a bereaved country, their words of sympathy to her who felt more keenly even than the nation her sudden loss.

Never before was such a general sadness; never again, we trust, will there be such a cause. It was no lip service; the grief was deep and heartfelt. The people were bereaved, and they knew it.

In Montreal, C. E., the Mayor by proclamation invited the citizens to close their places of business, "as a tribute of respect to the memory of the late President of

the United States, and of sympathy with the bereaved members of his family, and also as an expression of the deep sorrow and horror felt by the citizens of Montreal at the atrocious crime by which the President came to an untimely end," and a large public meeting was held, in which addresses were delivered in French and English.

At Quebec, also, a similar proclamation was issued by the Mayor, was promptly and completely responded to. Toronto, Prescott, and other Canadian towns, also testified their sympathy with the neighboring republic.

San Francisco honored the day by the grandest procession ever witnessed on the Pacific coast; and in the South, even, similar marks of respect were paid. In Memphis, a solemn military and civic procession, numbering twenty thousand persons, formed an imposing part of the ceremony, and an impromptu meeting was held, at which eloquent addresses were delivered by Generals Banks and Washburn.

The procession at Nashville numbered upwards of fifteen thousand persons, among them Generals Thomas, Rousseau, Miller, Whipple, Fowler, and Donelson. Over ten thousand troops joined in the procession; besides Governor Brownlow, both Houses of the Legislature, the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments, and Fire Department, and other organizations.

At Little Rock, Ark., on receipt of the news, the Legislature adjourned, and an impressive address was delivered by Senator Snow.

At Detroit, on the 25th of April, the obsequies of President Lincoln were observed with imposing ceremonies, and a procession, more than four miles in length, in

which even the officers of the British army, and the Canadian civil officers participated. The ceremonies concluded with an oration by Senator Howard.

New Orleans received the tidings a little later, and the city was at once arrayed in mourning. A procession was held on the 22d, composed of the Fire Department, societies and citizens; and an immense mass of people. Addresses were also delivered by Generals Banks and Hurlbut.

On the 20th, the body of the murdered President lay in state in the Capitol, where it was visited by more than twenty-five thousand persons, among whom were thousands of soldiers, many coming from the hospitals to gaze once more upon their commander-in-chief. At six o'clock, on the morning of the 21st, the members of the Cabinet, Lieutenant-General Grant and staff, several Senators, the Illinois delegation, and a number of army officers, arrived at the Capitol, and took their farewell look at the face of the deceased. Then, after an impressive prayer by Rev. Dr. Gurley, the remains were borne, without music, but accompanied by an escort, to the railroad station, and placed in the hearse car, to which the remains of his son Willie had been previously removed. After a prayer and benediction, the train slowly moved from the depot, the engine-bell tolling, the immense assemblage reverently uncovering their heads —and thus Abraham Lincoln passed away from Washington, the scene of his life's-work and his glory.

The funeral cortege was conveyed on a special through train, on the same route (with one or two exceptions) as that taken by Mr. Lincoln on his way to Washington, in 1861. The car, also, which bore the body and its

attendants, was the same which had been especially constructed for the late President's especial use when travelling over the military roads—a superb piece of construction, and now appropriately draped, as were also the other six cars forming the train.

To prevent accidents, the rate of speed was limited. No stoppage was made between Washington and Baltimore. In out-of-the-way places, little villages, or single farm-houses, people came out to the side of the track and watched, with heads reverently uncovered and faces full of genuine sadness, the passage of the car bearing the ashes of him who loved the people and whom the people loved. Along the whole line were seen these mourning groups, some on foot and some in carriages, wearing badges of sorrow, and many evidently having come a long distance to pay this little tribute of respect, the only one in their power, to the memory of the murdered President.

Baltimore, through which city, four years before, the late President had hurried *incognito*, on his inaugural trip, now received the honored remains of the chief magistrate with every mark of reverence. Escorted by a splendid procession, the body was conveyed to the rotunda of the Exchange, where upon a gorgeous catafalque, and surrounded by flowers, it rested for several hours, receiving the silent homage of thousands who crowded to take their last look at the features of the illustrious patriot.

As the cars passed along their route, entire neighborhoods, old and young, men and women with infants in their arms, and youths, turned out by the roadside and earnestly watched the funeral train. Flags at half-mast,

mourning inscriptions, funeral arches, testified the sorrow that was felt in every bosom. Some of the most notable and affecting scenes were of exceedingly plain and poorly dressed men and women, at different places on the route, with handkerchiefs at their eyes, and having the appearance of weeping. Clusters of men, at various points, raised their hats as the funeral car glided before them, and the deepest sorrow was expressed in every countenance.

At York, Pa., at the request of the ladies of that town, a beautiful wreath was placed with due solemnity upon the coffin, while a dirge was performed by the band, amid the tolling of bells, and the uncovered heads of the multitude.

At Harrisburg, owing to the heavy rain, the intended military and civic display was dispensed with. Throngs of people, however, lined the streets and followed the remains to the State Capitol, where the body lay in state, in the House of Representatives, upon a fine catafalque, surrounded with a circle of white flowering almonds; and during a part of the night the citizens were allowed to obtain a view of the President's features.

From Baltimore to Philadelphia, it may be said that the entire route was amid crowds of sorrowing people, for between villages and towns, all the way, farmers and their families assembled in fields and about houses, seriously and reverently gazing at the fleeting funeral *cortege*.

At Philadelphia, where they were received by a great procession, the ashes of the martyr found a resting-place in Independence Hall, around which cluster so many historical memories, and over which, four years ago, the

then President-elect hoisted the American flag, with a declaration of his willingness to sacrifice his life rather than abandon the cause which he has at length fallen in defending. The bier was close to the famous old liberty bell which first sounded forth in 1776 the tidings of independence.

The interior of the hall, as well as exterior, was heavily draped and most artistically illuminated. Around the remains were appropriate decorations, leaves of exquisite evergreens and flowers of an exquisite crimson bloom. At the head of the corpse were bouquets, while flaming tapers were at the feet; and from the elaborately hung walls the portraits of the great and good dead, eloquent in their silence, looked down upon the sad scene.

The next morning, waiting thousands were admitted to see the corpse. Before daylight lines were formed east and west of Independence Hall, and by ten o'clock these lines extended at least three miles, from the Delaware to the Schuylkill river, thousands occupying three or four hours before accomplishing their object—seeing the remains.

The funeral train left Philadelphia at 4 A. M., on the 24th of April, 1865. The incidents of the journey were similar to those seen elsewhere. Sometimes the track was lined on both sides for miles with a continuous array of people. The most impressive scene of the whole route thus far was furnished by the city of Newark, where it seemed as if the inhabitants had resolved to turn out *en masse* to pay their brief tribute of respect to the memory of the departed as his coffin passed by. For a distance of a mile, the observer on the train could

perceive only one sea of human beings. Words can do no justice to the spectacle.

Of a grander character was the reception given to the remains at Jersey City. The depot, one of the largest halls in the country, was draped in an imposing manner, bells tolled, cannon echoed solemnly, and as the remains were removed from the cars to the boat, a choir of singers chanted a solemn dirge. Again, as the ferry boat neared the New York side, solemn strains of funeral music pealed from their united voices, and mingled with the sound of cannon and tolling bells.

In the metropolis of New York the scene was imposing beyond comparison. As far as the eye could see, a dense mass of heads filled the streets, and protruded from every window. The fronts of the houses were tastefully draped with mourning, and the national ensign was displayed at half-mast from almost every housetop.

The remains were received by an immense procession, which passed along its route, amid such a crowd of sorrowing faces as New York never saw before; while from distant batteries the cannon belched each minute their thunder-tones of woe, from all the steeples came forth the wailing of bells, and from old Trinity's lofty spire floated upon the breeze the tuneful chimings of "Old Hundred." Arrived at the City Hall, the coffin was borne into the rotunda, amid the solemn chantings of eight hundred choristers, and placed upon the catafalque prepared for it. Here, amid gorgeous emblems of woe, military display, and floral emblems of affection, the dead President rested, while, during the day and all night long the tide of people passed hurriedly but rever-

ently by, taking a hasty glance at those ghastly and upturned features. At the solemn hour of midnight, the German musical societies performed a funeral chant in the rotunda of the hall, with an effect which was harmoniously grand and sublime. On the 25th of April, the great metropolis took its final leave of the remains of Abraham Lincoln, and after a farewell more grand and imposing than any demonstration in the previous experience of this country, the sacred ashes started on their journey westward.*

At the same time, a vast concourse assembled in Union Square, where an elegant oration was delivered by the eminent historian, the Hon. George Bancroft, and an ode, composed by William Cullen Bryant, was recited.

From New York the same scenes of popular grief and the deepest respect were witnessed. Arches, columns, monuments, banners, etc., arrayed with tasteful and loving care, lined the entire route of the funeral train,

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* The military pageant was grand. The city regiments in the parade, with their batteries and officers, made a force of at least ten thousand men. Those from Brooklyn and the regulars were nearly half that number, the whole in line of formation, or double line, extending a distance in all of four miles and a half. The procession was closed by the colored population of New York, who, though deprived of an invitation to join the grand pageant, nevertheless, when informed of the action taken by the military authorities, were only too glad to pay the last sad tributes of respect to their great benefactor. They numbered at least two thousand persons, and were preceded by a banner bearing the following inscription

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN, OUR EMANCIPATOR."

On the reverse side of which were the following words:

"TO MILLIONS OF BONDMEN HE LIBERTY GAVE."

All along the route, and particularly in the Fifth Avenue, and in Union Square, the colored people joining in the procession, were vehemently applauded by the crowded assemblages.

as it sped its way among crowds of heart-stricken men and women, heralded on its onward course by the tolling of bells, and the echoes of minute guns. At Albany, the corpse was escorted across the river by a torch-light procession of military and firemen, and placed in the Capitol of the State, where it rested until 2 P. M. of the next day—visited by thousands. Accompanied by a grand procession, it was then escorted to the train of newly finished, and tastefully draped cars, furnished by the New York Central Railroad Company, and commenced its sad journey through the Empire State.

Notwithstanding the greater part of the trip between Albany and Buffalo was made at night, all along the line mournful crowds were collected to catch a view of the passing *cortege*. The buildings were appropriately draped, flags were half-masted, and bonfires and torches illumined the sad pageant. All through the dark hours, as the train sped on, at each city, town, village, and station, these testimonies of the people's affection and grief were repeated.

At Buffalo and Cleveland, the body was appropriately received amid every possible demonstration of grief and respect. At Columbus, Ohio, the remains were placed in the rotunda of the State Capitol, which was appropriately draped. The coffin rested upon a mound of moss, thickly dotted with the choicest flowers, and was surrounded by elegant vases of rare flowers. The walls were adorned with Powell's great painting of "Perry's Victory;" and with various banners which had been carried by the Ohio troops during the war, torn and riddled by bullets in many a deadly conflict. Bands of music played during the afternoon, on the terraces of

the Capitol, most solemn dirges, and guns were fired at intervals during the day.

Indianapolis also gave a worthy reception to the departed chief. At Chicago the remains of the President were received under a magnificent funeral arch, and were thence conveyed to the rotunda of the court house, where they were laid in state upon a catafalque as beautiful as any we have hitherto described, and visited by thousands of persons, who thus, in sadness, welcomed back their late beloved ruler to his native State. The number of people in the city, at the time, was estimated to have been not less than two hundred and fifty thousand. At night the coffin, strewn with fresh flowers placed by virgin hands, with chant and torch-light, was borne to the depot.

Taking all in all, Chicago made a deeper impression upon those who had been with the funeral from the first than any one of the ten cities passed through before had done. It was to be expected that such would be the case, yet, seeing how other cities had honored the funeral, there seemed to be no room for more, and the eastern members of the *cortege* could not repress surprise when they saw how Chicago and the Northwest came, with one accord, with tears and with offerings, to help to bury "this Duncan," who had "been so clear in his great office.'

At last, on the 3d of May, the funeral train, after travelling, by a circuitous route, about seventeen hundred miles, reached Springfield, the home of the fallen President, where he had been so long personally known and admired. The remains were received by a procession, and were carried to the State House, where they they were deposited in the Hall of Representatives, under

TOMB OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AT SPRINGFIELD.

a canopy of exquisite design and finish; while, prominent amid the tasteful decorations of the place, were the words of President Lincoln at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, February 22d, 1861: "SOONER THAN SURRENDER THESE PRINCIPLES, I WOULD BE ASSASSINATED ON THE SPOT."

Here, as elsewhere, the citizens of the place, with thousands who came pouring in by every mode of conveyance, sought to gaze on the face of the corpse. All night long the streets of the city resounded with the tramp of feet. It was estimated that more than seventy-five thousand passed into the hall.

During the morning minute-guns were fired by Battery K, Missouri light artillery. About ten o'clock the coffin was closed forever. Meanwhile a choir two of hundred and fifty voices, and Lebrun's band from St. Louis, sang Paesello's "Peace, Troubled Soul," and as the coffin was borne out, Pleyel's Hymn, "Children of the Heavenly King."

The procession moved to Oak Ridge Cemetery, under the immediate command of Major-General Joseph Hooker, Marshal-in-Chief; and on its arrival at the cemetery, the remains were placed in the tomb, and after the simple but touching ceremonies of interment, and an eloquent funeral discourse by Bishop Simpson, of the M. E. Church, the immense throng silently dispersed.

Henceforth, the name and the fame of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the United States, is the priceless inheritance of the country which he loved so well, and which he so faithfully served, even to a martyr's death.

THE ASSASSIN'S END.

While the honored remains of the murdered President were thus journeying on, meeting with such a spontaneous and magnificent reception as had never, on this continent, been hitherto accorded to any man living or dead, what had become of the cowardly assassin? In the leap which he made from the box to the stage, on the eventful night of the murder, he fractured the bones of one of his legs; yet in spite of this mashap, he contrived to make his way, on horseback, into St. Mary's county, where he was concealed for some days, eluding all pursuit, although the rewards for his capture amounted, in the aggregate, to over one hundred thousand dollars. It being, however, pretty conclusively ascertained that he was in this locality, parties of cavalry finally closed in around him, so as to compel him to beat a retreat. Thus surrounded, although disabled by his fractured leg, for which he had obtained but indifferent treatment, he worked his way across the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers into Virginia, and on the morning of the 26th of April, 1865, a party of cavalry, under command of Lieutenant Dougherty, traced him to a barn on the farm of Henry Garrett, between Bowling Green and Port Royal, and near Fredericksburg, where, with an accomplice named David C. Harrold, he was concealed.

The cavalry surrounding the barn, called upon the fugitives to surrender, and Harrold complied; but Booth refusing to do so, the barn was set on fire in the rear. Booth then, after theatrically challenging the lieutenant and the entire party of cavalrymen to combat, prepared to fire among them. Sergeant Boston Corbett immedi-

ately leveled his piece and fired, shooting the wretched assassin in the head, and causing very much such a wound as Booth had inflicted upon the President less than two weeks before. Booth lived for two or three hours after receiving his wound, and his body, with the person of Harrold, was at once removed to Washington.

Thus, even before the remains of his illustrious victim had reached their final destination, the miserable assassin had met the death of a dog, despised and execrated by millions on both continents.

Payne, the attempted murderer of Mr. Seward; David C. Harrold, the accomplice of Booth in his flight; Atzeroth, to whom it is said had been assigned the assassination of President Johnson; Mrs. Surratt, who harbored the assassins during the progress of their plottings, were all captured, tried before a military court-martial, and by its order hung, on the 7th of July. By the decree of the same court, Dr. Samuel Mudd, who assisted Booth in his escape; Samuel Arnold, proved to have been in the conspiracy to abduct the President, and Michael O'Laughlin, to whom, it was alleged, was assigned the murder of General Grant, were sentenced to imprisonment for life on the Dry Tortugas. Spangler, the stage-carpenter of Ford's theatre, was sentenced to six years imprisonment in the Albany (N. Y.) penitentiary. Thus falls the curtain upon the actors in this fearful tragedy.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

FOULLY ASSASSINATED, APRIL 14, 1865.

(*From the London Punch.*)

You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier,
  You, who with mocking pencil wont to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
  His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face;

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,
  His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
  Of power or will to shine, of art to please.

You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
  Judging each step, as though the way were plain;
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,
  Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain.

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet
  The stars and stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
  Say, scurrile jester, is there room for you?

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
  To lame my pencil, and confute my pen—
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
  This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learnt to rue,
  Noting how to occasion's height he rose,
How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true,
  How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows.

How humble, yet how hopeful he could be—
  How in good-fortune and in ill the same:
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
  Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work—such work as few
  Ever had laid on head and heart and hand—
As one who knows, where there's a task to do,
  Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command;

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work his will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor temper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle, on the side
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,
As in his peasant boyhood he had plied
His warfare with rude Nature's thwarting mights;

The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron bark that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid, that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks;

The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear—
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train;
Rough culture—but such trees large fruit may bear,
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it: four long-suffering years,
Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report lived through,
And then he heard the hisses changed to cheers;

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took both with the same unwavering mood:
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood;

A felon had, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest—
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long-labored limbs were laid to rest!

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse
To thoughts of peace on earth, good-will to men.

The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,
Utter one voice of sympathy and shame!
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high;
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came.

CHAPTER XVIII.

REMINISCENCES AND ANECDOTES OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.*

Mr. Lincoln's Christian Experiences, and Christian Sentiments.—His firmness.—The Pardoning Power.—Mr. Lincoln's love of Homer.—His Memory.—His aptness of Expression.—The Emancipation Proclamation.—His "Little Story," at the Peace Conference.—His Justification of the Amnesty Proclamation.—He loses his temper for once.—His relations with the People.—His tenderness of heart.—His faithful admonition.—Mr. Lincoln "Pokes" on Kentucky neutrality.—Reminiscences of President Lincoln by an old associate and friend.—His simplicity and artlessnesss of character.—His native dignity.—His desire for knowledge.—His modesty.—His personal fearlessness of danger.—His kindness of heart. His honesty.—Incidents of his visit to the Army of the Potomac.—Absence of mind.—He watches events.—He remembers his friends.—His little stories.—His power of memory.—His literary tastes and habits.

MR. LINCOLN'S CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES AND SENTIMENTS.

"A lady interested in the work of the Christian Commission, had occasion, in the prosecution of her duties, to have several interviews with the President of a business nature. He was much impressed with the devotion and earnestness of purpose she manifested, and on one occasion, after she had discharged the object of her visit, he leaned back in his chair and said to her: 'Mrs. ——, I have formed a very high opinion of your Christian character, and now, as we are alone, I have a mind to

* For most of the anecdotes, forming the first portion of this chapter, we are indebted to Mr. Carpenter's interesting papers in the *Independent* and elsewhere. Mr. Carpenter's excellent opportunies of free and unrestrained intercourse with Mr. Lincoln, while an inmate of his family, give an especial value to his recollections, which does not attach to many of the stories and sayings which popular rumor attributes (though erroneously) to the late President.

ask you to give me, in brief, your idea of what constitutes a true religious experience.' The lady replied at some length, stating that, in her judgment, it consisted of a conviction of one's own sinfulness and weakness, and personal need of the Saviour for strength and support; that views of mere doctrine might and would differ, but when one was really brought to feel his need of divine help, and to seek the aid of the Holy Spirit for strength and guidance, it was satisfactory evidence of his having been born again. This was the substance of her reply. When she had concluded, Mr. Lincoln was very thoughtful for a few moments. He at length said very earnestly, 'If what you have told me is really a correct view of this great subject, I think I can say with sincerity, that I hope I am a Christian. I had lived,' he continued, 'until my boy Willie died, without realizing fully these things. That blow overwhelmed me. It showed me my weakness as I had never felt it before, and if I can take what you have stated as a *test*, I think I can safely say that I know something of that *change* of which you speak, and I will further add, that it has been my intention for some time, at a suitable opportunity, to make a public religious profession!'"

"As a ruler," says Bishop Simpson, "I doubt if any President has ever showed such trust in God, or in public documents so frequently referred to divine aid. Often did he remark to friends and delegations that his hope for our success rested in his conviction that God would bless our efforts, because we were trying to do right. To the address of a large religious body, he replied, 'Thanks be unto God, who in our national trials giveth us the churches.' To a minister who said 'he hoped the Lord was on our side,' he replied 'that it gave him no concern whether the Lord was on our side or not,' for he added, 'I know the Lord is always on the side of right;' and with deep feeling added, 'but God is my witness that it is my constant anxiety and prayer that both myself and this nation should be on the Lord's side.'"

"Once, he soliliquized, half unconsciously, after he had been waited upon by a committee or delegation, with reference to securing his co-operation in having the name of God inserted in the Constitution: 'Some people seem a great deal more concerned about the *letter* of a thing, than about its *spirit*,' or words to this effect."

HIS FIRMNESS.

"Late one afternoon a lady with two gentlemen were admitted. She had come to ask that her husband, who was a prisoner of war, might be permitted to take the oath and be released from confinement. To secure a degree of interest on the part of the President, one of the gentlemen claimed to be an acquaintance of Mrs. Lincoln; this however received but little attention, and the President proceeded to ask what position the lady's husband held in the rebel service. 'Oh,' said she, 'he was a captain.' '*A captain*,' rejoined Mr. Lincoln, 'indeed, rather too big a fish to set free simply upon his taking the oath! If he was an officer, it is proof positive that he has been a zealous rebel; I cannot release him.' Here the lady's friend reiterated the assertion of his acquaintance with Mrs. Lincoln. Instantly the President's hand was upon the bell-rope. The usher in attendance answered the summons. 'Cornelius, take this man's name to Mrs. Lincoln, and ask her what she knows of him?' The boy presently returned with the reply that '*the Madam*' (as she was called by the servants) knew nothing of him whatever. 'It is just as I suspected,' said the President. The party made one more attempt to enlist his sympathy, but without effect. 'It is no use,' was the reply. 'I cannot release him!' and the trio withdrew in high displeasure."

THE PARDONING POWER.

"One day the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens called with an elderly lady, in great trouble, whose son had been in the army, but for some offence had been court-martialed, and sentenced either to death or imprisonment at hard labor for a long term, I do not

recollect which. There were some extenuating circumstances, and after a full hearing the President turned to the representative and said: 'Mr. Stevens, do you think this is a case which will warrant my interference?' 'With my knowledge of the facts and parties,' was the reply, 'I should have no hesitation in granting a pardon.' 'Then,' returned Mr. Lincoln, 'I will pardon him,' and he proceeded forthwith to execute the paper. The gratitude of the mother was too deep for expression, save by her tears, and not a word was said between her and Mr. Stevens until they were half way down the stairs on their passage out, when she suddenly broke forth in an excited manner with the words, 'I knew it was a copperhead LIE!'—'What do you refer to, madam?' asked Mr. Stevens. 'Why, they told me he was an *ugly* looking man,' she replied with vehemence. 'He is the *handsomest* man I ever saw in my life!' And surely for that mother, and for many another, throughout the land, no carved statue of ancient or modern art, in all its symmetry, ever can have the charm which will forevermore encircle that care-worn, but gentle face, expressing as was never expressed before, 'MALICE TOWARD NONE—CHARITY FOR ALL.'"

"One example of his exercise of the pardoning power, may excite a smile, as well as a tear; but it may be relied upon as a veritable relation of what actually transpired. A distinguished citizen of Ohio had an appointment with the President one evening at six o'clock. As he entered the vestibule of the White House, his attention was attracted by a poorly-clad young woman who was violently sobbing. He asked her the cause of her distress. She said that she had been ordered away by the servants, after vainly waiting many hours to see the President about her only brother, who had been condemned to death. Her story was this: She and her brother were foreigners, and orphans. They had been in this country several years. Her brother enlisted in the army, but, through bad influences, was induced to desert. He was captured, tried and sentenced to be shot—the old story. The poor girl had obtained the signatures

of some persons who had formerly known him, to a petition for a pardon, and, alone, had come to Washington to lay the case before the President. Thronged as the waiting rooms always were, she had passed the long hours of two days trying in vain to get an audience, and had at length been ordered away.

"The gentleman's feelings were touched. He said to her that he had come to see the President, but did not know as *he* should succeed. He told her, however, to follow him up-stairs and he would see what could be done for her. Just before reaching the door Mr. Lincoln came out, and meeting his friend said good-humoredly, 'Are you not ahead of time?' The gentleman showed him his watch with the hand upon the hour of six. 'Well,' returned Mr. Lincoln, 'I have been so busy to-day that I have not had time to get a lunch. Go in and sit down, I will be back directly.'

"The gentleman made the young woman accompany him into the office, and when they were seated, said to her, 'Now my good girl, I want you to muster all the courage you have in the world. When the President comes back, he will sit down in that arm-chair. I shall get up to speak to him, and as I do so, you must force yourself between us, and insist upon his examination of your papers, telling him it is a case of life and death, and admits of no delay.' These instructions were carried out to the letter. Mr. Lincoln was at first somewhat surprised at the apparent forwardness of the young woman, but observing her distressed appearance, he ceased conversation with his friend, and commenced an examination of the document she had placed in his hands. Glancing from it to the face of the petitioner, whose tears had broken forth afresh, he studied its expression for a moment and then his eye fell upon her scanty, but neat dress. Instantly his face lighted up. 'My poor girl,' said he, 'you have come here with no Governor, or Senator, or member of Congress, to plead your cause. You seem honest and truthful; *and you don't wear hoops*—and I will be whipped, but I will pardon your brother.'"

MR. LINCOLN'S LOVE OF HOMER.

"Mr. Lincoln 'thought in figures,' or, in other words, an argument habitually took on that form in his mind. The 'points' of his argument were driven home in this way, as they could be in no other. In the social circle this characteristic had full play. I never knew him to sit down with a friend for a five minutes' chat, without being 'reminded' of something about somebody alluded to in the course of the conversation. In a corner of his desk he kept a copy of some humorous work, and it was frequently his habit, when greatly fatigued, annoyed, or depressed, to take this up and read a chapter, with great relief.

"The Saturday evening before he left Washington to go to the front, just previous to the capture of Richmond, I was with him from seven o'clock until nearly twelve. It had been a very hard day with him. The pressure of office-seekers was greater at this juncture than I ever knew it to be, and he was almost worn out. Among the callers that evening, was a party composed of a Senator, a Representative, an ex-lieutenant-governor of a western State, and several private citizens. They had business of great importance, involving the necessity of the President's examination of voluminous documents. Pushing every thing aside, he said to one of the party, 'Have you seen the Nasby papers?' 'No I have not,' was the answer; 'who is Nasby?' 'There is a chap out in Ohio,' returned the President, 'who has been writing a series of letters in the newspapers over the signature of Petroleum V. Nasby. Some one sent me a pamphlet collection of them the other day. I am going to write to 'Petroleum' to come down here, and I intend to tell him if he will communicate his talent to me, I will *swap* places with him!' Thereupon he arose, went to a drawer in his desk, and, taking out the 'Letters,' he sat down and read one to the company. The instant he had ceased, the book was thrown aside, his countenance relapsed into its habitual serious

expression, and the business was entered upon with the utmost earnestness."

HIS MEMORY.

"Mr. Lincoln's memory was very remarkable. With the multitude of visitors whom he saw daily, I was often amazed at the readiness with which he recalled faces and events, and even names. At one of the afternoon 'receptions,' a stranger shook hands with him, and, as he did so, remarked, casually, that he was elected to Congress about the time Mr. Lincoln's term as Representative expired. 'Yes,' said the President; 'you are from ——,' mentioning the State. 'I remember reading of your election in a newspaper one morning on a steamboat going down to Mount Vernon. At another time a gentleman addressed him, saying, 'I presume, Mr. President, that you have forgotten me?' 'No,' was the prompt reply; 'your name is Flood. I saw you last, twelve years ago, at ——,' naming the place and the occasion; 'I am glad to see,' he continued, 'that the *Flood* is still running!' A deputation of bankers from various sections were introduced one day by the Secretary of the Treasury. After a few moments' general conversation, Mr. Lincoln turned to one of them, and said: 'Your district did not give me as strong a vote at the last election as it did in '60.' 'I think, sir, that you must be mistaken,' replied the banker. 'I have the impression that your majority was considerably increased at the last election.' 'No,' rejoined the President; 'you fell off about six hundred votes.' Then taking down from the bookcase the official record of the presidential canvass of '60 and '64, he referred to the vote of the district named, and proved to be almost exactly right in his assertion."

HIS APTNESS OF EXPRESSION.

"It will be remembered that an extra session of Congress was called in July following Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. In the message then sent in, speaking of secession, and the measures

taken by the southern leaders to bring it about, there occurs the following remark: 'With rebellion thus *sugar-coated*, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, until, at length, they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the government,' etc. Mr. Defrees, the government printer, told me that, when the message was being printed, he was a good deal disturbed by the use of the term 'sugar-coated,' and finally went to the President about it. Their relations to each other being of the most intimate character, he told Mr. Lincoln frankly, that he ought to remember that a message to Congress was a different affair from a speech at a mass meeting in Illinois—that the messages became a part of history, and should be written accordingly.

"'What is the matter now?' inquired the President.

"'Why,' said Mr. Defrees, 'you have used an undignified expression in the message;' and then, reading the paragraph aloud, he added, 'I would alter the structure of that, if I were you.'

"'Defrees,' replied Mr. Lincoln, 'that word expresses precisely my idea, and I am not going to change it. The time will never come in this country when the people won't know exactly what *sugar-coated* means!'

"On a subsequent occasion, Mr. Defrees told me, a certain sentence of another message was very awkwardly constructed. Calling the President's attention to it in the proof-copy, the latter acknowledged the force of the objection raised, and said, 'Go home, Defrees, and see if you can better it.' The next day Mr. Defrees took in to him his amendment. Mr. Lincoln met him by saying: 'Seward found the same fault that you did, and he has been re-writing the paragraph also.' Then reading Mr. Defrees' version, he said, 'I believe you have beaten Seward; but I think I can beat you both.' Then, taking up his pen, he wrote the sentence as it was finally printed."

"His sagacity," says an eloquent divine, "was shown almost as much as in his policy itself, in the modes and means, in the very forms of statement and illustration, by which he presented it to the public. He could be eloquent, if he would. Remember the close of his Ohio letter: 'Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay; and so come as to be worth the keeping. It will then have been proved that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeals are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation; while I fear that there will be some white men unable to forget that, with malignant heart and deceitful speech, they have striven to hinder it.'

"But generally the most marked feature of his style was its utter simplicity. The usual plethoric platitudes of state papers were curiously contrasted by his brief, simple, sinewy sentences. If an editor wrote to him, he wrote back to the editor, and published his answer. And when the people had got over their astonishment at his audacity, they believed all the more in his utter sincerity. No man ever lived who spoke more directly to the heart of the people. Critics might quarrel with his rhetoric sometimes; but critics themselves could not gainsay the fact that his homely and pithy words had a power beyond all ornate paragraphs. 'We must keep still pegging away,' he said, in the gloomiest period of the war; and every plain man saw his duty and was nerved to perform it. 'One war at a time.' All the orators could not answer it; a unanimous press could not have outborne the impression it made. 'The United States government must not undertake to run the churches.' The dictum is worth a half-dozen duodecimos on the complex relations of Church and State. 'You needn't cross a bridge until you have got to it.' If men's minds were not

discharged of their fears concerning the effect of a general emancipation, they were at least widely persuaded to postpone these by the pithy advice.

"'The central idea of secession,' he said, in one of his messages, 'is the essence of anarchy;' and elaborate pages could not have said more than that one apothegm. It is a head-line for copybooks for all time to come. Always, the sagacity which had selected his policy, and which usually chose with great final correctness the men and the times for putting it in practice, was shown as well in the homely phrase, or proverb, or anecdote, which made it familiar throughout the land. More than his opponents knew at the time, more than the people themselves were aware, he argued the questions of his Administration, he carried the public judgment to his conclusions by those quaint words which all remembered, and which were repeated with laughing satisfaction at thousands of firesides. His maxims were more effective than his messages, and a score of presses could not rival the service of some of his stories."

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

"At another time, speaking to Governor Morgan of the adoption of the emancipation policy, shortly after the issue of the proclamation, he said: 'There are those who have been asserting for some time, that slavery is dead. This is very far from being true. I think we are a good deal like whalers who have been long on the chase. We have at last got the harpoon into the monster, but we must now look how we steer, or with one *flop* of his tail he will yet send us all into eternity!'

"By the act of emancipation, Mr. Lincoln built for himself forever, the first place in the affections of the African race in this country. The love and reverence manifested for him by many of these poor, ignorant people has, on some occasions, almost reached adoration. One day Colonel McKaye, of New York, who had been one of a committee to investigate the condition of the freedmen, upon his return from Hilton Head and

Beaufort, called upon the President, and, in the course of the interview, mentioned the following incident:

"He had been speaking of the ideas of power entertained by these people. They had an idea of God, as the Almighty, and they had realized, in their former condition, the power of their masters. Up to the time of the arrival among them of the Union forces, they had no knowledge of any other power. Their masters fled upon the approach of our soldiers, and this gave the slaves a conception of a power greater than their masters exercised. This power they called 'Massa Linkum.' Colonel McKaye said that their place of worship was a large building which they called 'the praise house,' and the leader of the 'meeting,' a venerable black man, was known as 'the praise man.' On a certain day, when there was quite a large gathering of the people, considerable confusion was created by different persons attempting to tell who and what 'Massa Linkum' was. In the midst of the excitement, the white-headed leader commanded silence. 'Brederin,' said he, 'you don't know nosen' what you'se talkin' 'bout. Now, you just listen to me. Massa Linkum, he ebery whar. He know ebery ting.' Then, solemnly looking up, he added: '*He walk de earf like de Lord!*'

"Colonel McKaye told me that Mr. Lincoln was very much affected by this account. He did not smile, as another might have done, but got up from his chair, and walked in silence two or three times across the floor. As he resumed his seat, he said, very impressively, 'It is a momentous thing to be the instrument, under Providence, of the liberation of a race!'"

HIS "LITTLE STORY" AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

"Among his stories freshest in my mind, one which he related to me shortly after its occurrence, belongs to the history of the famous interview on board the River Queen at Hampton Roads, between himself and Secretary Seward, and the rebel peace commissioners. It was reported at the time, that the

President told a 'little story' on that occasion, and the inquiry went around among the newspapers, 'What was it?' Being in Washington a few days subsequent to the interview with the commissioners (my previous sojourn there having terminated about the first of last August), I asked Mr. Lincoln one day, 'if it was true that he told Stephens, Hunter and Campbell, a story?' 'Why yes,' he replied, manifesting some surprise, 'but has it leaked out? I was in hopes nothing would be said about it, lest some over-sensitive people should imagine there was a degree of levity in the intercourse between us.' He then went on to relate the circumstances which called it out. 'You see,' said he, 'we had reached and were discussing the *slavery* question. Mr. Stephens said substantially, that the slaves, always accustomed to an overseer, and to work upon compulsion, suddenly freed, as they would be if the South should consent to peace on the basis of the Emancipation Proclamation, would precipitate not only themselves, but the entire southern society into irremediable ruin. No work would be done, nothing would be cultivated, and both blacks and whites would *starve!*' Said the President, 'I waited for Seward to answer that argument, but as he was silent, I at length said: Mr. Stephens, *you* ought to know a great deal better about this matter than *I*, for you have always lived under the slave system. I can only say in reply to your statement of the case, that it reminds me of a man out in Illinois by the name of Case, who undertook, a few years ago, to raise a very large herd of hogs. It was a great trouble to *feed* them, and how to get around this was a puzzle to him. At length he hit on the plan of planting an immense field of potatoes, and, when they were sufficiently grown, he turned the whole herd into the field, and let them have full swing, thus saving not only the labor of feeding the hogs, but also that of digging the potatoes! Charmed with his sagacity, he stood one day leaning against the fence counting his hogs, when a neighbor came along. 'Well, well,' said he, 'Mr. Case, this is all very fine. Your

hogs are doing very well just now, but you know out here in Illinois the frost comes early, and the ground freezes for a foot deep. Then what are they going to do?' This was a view of the matter Mr. Case had not taken into account. Butchering time for hogs was way on in December or January? He scratched his head, and at length stammered, 'Well, it may come pretty hard on their *snouts*, but I don't see but that it will be root hog or die!' He did not tell me that either of the 'Commissioners' made any reply to this way of 'putting things.' It is very evident that there was little more argument necessary on one side of the question at least!"

MR. LINCOLN'S JUSTIFICATION OF THE AMNESTY PROCLAMATION.

"One day I took a couple of friends, from New York, upstairs, who wished to be introduced to the President. It was after the hour for business calls, and we found him alone, and, for *once*, at leisure. Soon after the introduction, one of my friends took occasion to indorse, very decidedly, the President's Amnesty Proclamation, which had been severely censured by many friends of the Administration. Mr. S——'s approval touched Mr. Lincoln. He said, with a great deal of emphasis, and with an expression of countenance I shall never forget, 'When a man is sincerely *penitent* for his misdeeds, and gives satisfactory evidence of the same, he can safely be pardoned, and there is no exception to the rule!'"

HE LOSES HIS TEMPER FOR ONCE.

"I believe there is but one instance of the President's losing his temper. Many of the northern people were scandalized that Kentucky should, in the beginning of the war, declare herself neutral in the contest; and also that, in dealing with slavery, the opinion of that State should be so much consulted by the President. On one occasion, when a Senator of very decided opinions was in consultation with the chief magistrate, the latter said, concerning some proposition, 'But will Ken-

tucky stand that?' 'Damn Kentucky!' exclaimed the Senator. 'Then *damn you!*' cried Mr. Lincoln, with warmth. But, much as he loved his native State, there were points on which he would 'put his foot down,' even to her. A Kentuckian, wishing some governmental aid in recovering his slaves, escaped and escaping, 'reminded him,' he said, 'of a little story. When I was going down the Ohio once on a steamer, a little boy came up to the captain, and said, 'Captain, please stop the boat a little while; I've lost my apple overboard!'"

HIS RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE.

"The following incident illustrates the strong attachment felt for him by the people. On the 3d of July, 1861, a review of a New Jersey brigade occurred in front of the President's house. As the column approached, Mr. Lincoln, with a few attendants, took his stand on the walk, and with a countenance of extreme sadness, received the salutations from the swords and banners of the passing troops, in their gay uniforms. Immediately after the last company had passed, a promiscuous crowd, which the then novel scene had collected, began to gather closely around the President—for whose safety not a little anxiety was felt, as the rebel army was then crouching at Manassas, within a single leap of Washington, and traitors were then lurking in many corners of the city. His body-guard of three or four soldiers soon found themselves outside of a crowd of several hundred, in the centre of which was Mr. Lincoln's tall figure. The great majority of those around him were laboring men in rough attire, all striving to reach him. His sad looks vanished as he shook their broad hands, and heard them greet him in terms freely used just before his election. 'Hurrah for Old Abe!' and 'Hurrah for the Rail-Splitter!' were exclamations frequently heard from tongues of various brogue. He, seeing them pressing around him as if to keep him there, rushed through their midst, and at a short distance from them stationed himself by a stone pillar, and good-naturedly said to them: 'Now come on!'

"They immediately formed a procession, and began to pass him, each shaking his hand, while he, with his long arms crossed, shook the hands of two men at the same time. They joked him and he joked them, and all laughed loudly, while many exclaimed, 'God bless you, Old Abe!' At first the scene was to me somewhat mortifying, as I looked upon the chief magistrate of our nation in that crowd. I could remember of nothing like it in history, nor could I think of a ruler in the old world who would thus place himself on a level with the common people. But there the conviction was firmly established, in the minds of all who rightly interpreted this incident, that the President, whose honest simplicity and cheerful faith under momentous responsibilities thus united the masses in sympathy with himself, would not be in want of co-operation and esteem; and the impression upon my feelings then, as his hand grasped mine, as I looked into his face and heard his voice, was harmonious with those awakened by the immortal words, 'With malice towards none, with charity for all.'

"'His sympathy with men,' says another friend, 'was shown not only in his singularly warm personal attachments to his family and his friends, to all who for any considerable time were confidentially associated with him; it was shown as well in that kindness to the poor, the sorrowful, the imperilled, with instances of which the journals of the country for four years past have been running over. The wearied, sick, or wounded soldier found always a friend in him as solicitous for his welfare as if he had been his kinsman by birth. The little children in the Home for the Destitute were touched by the tearful tenderness and dignity, the instructive clearness, and the quickening playfulness with which he addressed them. The poor freed people who had escaped from the slavery through which his armies crushed their way, but had escaped to communities that seemed less friendly than those they had left, and had passed from a bondage which at least had given them shelter and food to a liberty that threatened to doom them to idleness and to

overwhelm them in an absolute want—it was not with ostentatious charity, it was with no splendid philanthropical theory, it was with a tender, welcoming respect, that he heard their story, examined their condition, and opened the way for escape from their fears. After four years of incessant, bloody, desperate struggle, he entered Richmond, with characteristic unostentation, not at the head of marshalled armies, with banners advanced and trumpets sounding, but as a private gentleman, on foot, with an officer on one side, holding the hand of his boy on the other. An aged negro met him on the street and said, with the tears streaming down his face as he bowed low his uncovered head, 'God bress you, Massa Lincoln!' The President paused, raised his hat on the instant, and with a hearty 'I thank you, sir,' acknowledged with a bow the greeting. Instinctively he recognized the poorest as his peer, and the black man as his brother.

"The same spirit was revealed, in a more unique exhibition, in his sympathetic regard for his opponents. He laughed at the jokes which were made about himself; was tolerant, to a degree before unexampled, of attacks on his policy; and never took a particle of venom into his nature from all the virulent assaults that were made on him. While holding tenaciously to his own views of truth, he never failed to do generous justice to the reasons and the motives of those who combatted them; to recognize in them wherever he could, and sometimes where none of his colleagues could, a patriotism as genuine as his own, and a purpose as true to secure and promote the general welfare. He talked with, reasoned with, wrote to them, in this spirit, was not moved from his position of friendliness toward them by their misconceptions or their abuse, and never could believe them traitorous in their hearts till the overt act had compelled him to see it. Toward even those who had dangerously offended against the laws, he hardly could bring himself to adopt any course save one of the utmost clemency and gentleness. He pardoned with so much eagerness and

frequency that one of his own Cabinet officers declared that the power of pardoning should be taken from him."

"The first time I saw Mr. Lincoln at Washington," says a distinguished lawyer, "was in the summer of '62. McClellan's army was at that time resting at Harrison's Landing. A party of us were invited to go down to the Navy Yard and witness the testing of some inventions by Colonel Dahlgren and others. It was a very hot day, and as we passed down to the steamboat dock one of our party made desperate efforts to raise an umbrella right over the head of Mr. Lincoln. After a while the President turned and said—'Well, really, this is a very commendable enterprise of yours, but it is the first time I have had an umbrella held over my head to keep off the sun.' We afterwards heard from him a full account of the Chickahominy campaign. Mr. Lincoln said—'If you will promise not to put any thing in the newspapers, I will give you the facts of the campaign—and he did, without saying a single unkind word against McClellan. Coming up on the steamboat afterwards we saw some heavy axes on board. Mr. Lincoln suddenly rose and said—'You may talk about your rifle repeaters and your eleven inch Dahlgrens, but I guess I understand that there institution as well as any thing else. There was a time when I could hold out one of these things at arm's length.' The President then took hold of one of the axes, and held it out horizontally by the handle at arm's length. Several gentlemen present essayed to do the same but failed. I was in Washington during the riots in Brooklyn, during which a tobacco factory had been destroyed, and some one spoke of it to Mr. Lincoln. He said—'What is it they have been at?' Our worthy friend who was postmaster at that time referred him to me. Mr. Lincoln said, 'Then your rioters deny the right of man to work for a living, do they? I think that is one of the plainest of human rights.' There was an impression that Mr. Lincoln failed to understand the sentiment of the people, and a flippant reporter once sent a telegram from Washington that Mr. Lincoln never read the newspa-

pers. I am satisfied that he was a judicious reader of the newspapers.'"

"The invention of the 'Raphael Repeater' was once brought up in conversation. Its peculiarity was that it prevented the escape of gas. Mr. Lincoln had seen it tried and after writing to the Secretary of War asking him to give it a trial, he said, 'Yes, I believe this *does* fairly prevent the escape of gas. Now, have any of you heard of any machine or invention which will prevent the escape of gas from newspaper establishments?' This was doubtless an allusion to an article which had appeared the previous evening in the New York *Evening Post*, and it was very evident that he had been reading it."

HIS TENDERNESS OF HEART.

"I remember at one time, when going towards the White House, meeting Mr. Sweat, a distinguished politician from Illinois. He said he had left Mr. Lincoln in tears. He had been describing the death of a friend from Illinois, who had been mortally wounded at Shiloh. After the President had heard the narration, he said, 'Sweat, you must stop just there. I can't hear any more of this,' and he burst into tears."

HIS FAITHFUL ADMONITION.

"In a recent discourse in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, Rev. Henry C. Badger related the following anecdote, one of the thousands that are to be as household words in this country for many generations to come: A friend of mine, who had been unjustly dismissed from the army, was reinstated on appealing to the ever-patient head of the nation, whose task it was to undo the evil deeds others had done; but as the President restored to him his commission, perceiving the young man's fault, he said kindly, and with a father's faithful rebuke. 'I *fear*, my young friend, that you are *inclined* to be *quarrelsome*.' And when the young man, willing to justify himself, said that might not be so grave a fault in a soldier, whose business was fighting, the President rejoined, 'No sir, you are mistaken; I

find that the quiet and peaceable young men make the best officers and bravest soldiers.'"

Albert D. Richardson, the well-known war correspondent of the Tribune, relates the following incidents, which occurred in a visit to the President, in 1861.

"I reached Washington on the historic 19th of April. Just after my arrival, the Baltimore streets were stained with Massachusetts blood, railroads torn up, telegraph wires cut, and the panic-stricken city virtually blockaded.

"As I was the last man from the South, two Senators insisted upon taking me to the White House. The President received us with great kindness, but his countenance was almost ghastly with care.

'Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown,'

though it were only the chaplet of a republic. This man has filled the measure of American ambition. There was the same geniality, the same tendency to anecdote, but the old ringing laugh was dull and mechanical; the remembered brightness of the face was gone, and his blushing honors seemed pallid and ashen.

"He questioned me very minutely about the resources and immediate designs of the rebels, the public temper in the South, and the probabilities of the hour.

"'Douglas,' said he, 'spent three hours with me this morning. For several days he has been ill, unable to attend to business. So he has been studying the points until he understands the military situation, I think, better than any of the rest of us. By the way' (with his peculiar twinkle of the eye), 'he talked a little about the old subject in a new tone. 'You know,' said Douglas, 'I have always been very sound on the negro question. I have believed in enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law in all instances, with its true intent and meaning. But after a careful study I have about concluded that a Slave insurrection would be a case to which it does not apply!'" * * *

MR. LINCOLN "POKES" ON KENTUCKY NEUTRALITY.

"While Rousseau was urging the necessity of enlisting troops he remarked:

"'I have half pretended to submit to Kentucky neutrality, but, in discussing the matter before the people, while apparently standing upon the line, I have almost always *poked*.'

"This word was not in the Cabinet vocabulary. Cameron looked inquiringly at Mr. Lincoln, who was supposed to be familiar with the dialect of his native State.

"'General,' said the President, 'you don't know what *poke*' means? Why, when you play marbles, you are required to shoot from a mark on the ground; when you reach over with your hand, beyond the line, that is *poking*.'

"Cameron favored enlistments in Kentucky, without delay. Mr. Lincoln replied: 'Don't be too hasty: we should act with caution.' Rousseau explained: 'The masses in Kentucky are loyal. I can get as many soldiers there as are wanted; but if the rebels raise troops, while we do not, our young men will go into their army, taking the sympathies of kindred and friends, and may finally cause the State to secede. It is of vital importance that we give loyal direction to the sentiment of our people.'"

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. LINCOLN.

"Of an interview, Mr. R., thus speaks: 'Despondent and weighed down with his load of care, he sought relief in frank speaking. He said, with great earnestness, 'God knows that I want to do what is wise and right, but sometimes it is very difficult to determine.'

"He conversed freely of military affairs, but suddenly remarked, 'I am talking again! Of course you will remember that I speak to you only as friends; that none of this must be put in print.'

"Touching an attack upon Charleston, which had long been contemplated, he said that Du Pont had promised some weeks

before, if certain supplies were furnished, to make the assault upon a given day. The supplies were promptly forwarded, the day came and went without any intelligence. Some time after, he sent an officer to Washington, asking for three more iron-clads and a large quantity of deck-plating as indispensable to the preparations.

"'I told the officer to say to Commodore Du Pont,' observed Mr. Lincoln, 'that I fear he does not appreciate at all, the value of time.'

"We inquired about the progress of the Vicksburg campaign. Our armies were on a long expedition up the Yazoo River, designing, by digging canals and threading bayous, to get in the rear of the city and cut off its supplies. Mr. Lincoln said:

"'Of course, men who are in command and on the spot, know a great deal more than I do. But immediately in front of Vicksburg, where the river is a mile wide, the rebels plant batteries, which absolutely stop our entire fleet; therefore, it does seem to me that upon narrow streams like the Yazoo, Yallabusa and Tallahatchie, not wide enough for a long boat to turn around in, if any of our steamers which go there ever come back, there must be some mistake about it. If the enemy permits them to survive, it must be either through lack of enterprise or lack of sense.'

"A few months later, Mr. Lincoln was able to announce to the nation: 'The Father of Waters again flows unvexed to the sea.'

"Our interview left no grotesque recollections of the President's lounging, his huge hands and feet, great mouth or angular features. We remembered, rather, the ineffable tenderness which shone through his gentle eyes, his childlike ingenuousness, his utter integrity, and his absorbing love of country.

"Ignorant of etiquette and conventionalities, without the graces of form or of manner, his great reluctance to give pain, his beautiful regard for the feelings of others, made him

'Worthy to bear without reproach,
The grand old name of Gentleman.'"

REMINISCENCES OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN BY AN OLD ASSOCIATE AND FRIEND.

At a meeting of the Bar of Chicago, held on the 17th, to take appropriate action with regard to the national affliction, Mr. U. F. Linder, one of the leading Democrats of Illinois, delivered an eloquent tribute to the memory of the departed President. Mr. Linder had known Mr. Lincoln intimately from boyhood. Both were born near the same place in Kentucky; they had removed to Illinois at nearly the same time; had practised law together, and for many years were warm-hearted friends. The reminiscences of Mr. Lincoln, which Mr. Linder narrated in his remarks, were affecting beyond account, and more than one, as he listened to the tremulous tones of the speaker, was visibly moved to tears. He said:

"I feel I cannot let this occasion go by without laying a tribute—an humble tribute—of mine upon the grave of him whom I so long since learned to love. It is but little I can say of Abraham Lincoln, because all of his life and character has become as household words, and was perhaps better known than any other man, alive or dead.

"It was my lot fortunately to know Abraham Lincoln before he was known to the nation. I knew him, or became acquainted with him, about or a little before the commencement of his career as a lawyer and a public man. I was introduced to him at the hotel in Charleston, in this State, in the year 1835. He was dressed in a plain suit of jean, and looked like a quiet, unassuming farmer. There struck me then, more than any thing else in the man, the expression of goodness and kindness which gleamed in his eyes, and which sat there all the days of his life; and it has seemed to me a hundred times since I heard of his assassination, that no man could have looked in his face and assassinated him. There was too much that commanded

respect and too much of mercy for any man facing him to do him harm. Wherever he came he brought sunshine. All men hailed him as an addition to their circle. He was genial; he was humorous; he was clear in the expression of his sentiments; he was honest. But in all his career, in all his humor, there was nothing that ever came from him that planted a thorn or a dagger in any man's heart.

"I have known him intimately since I came to the State of Illinois. I knew his father and his relatives in Kentucky. They were a good family. They were poor, and the very poorest people, I might say, of the middle classes, but they were true. No man who has known Lincoln as a friend, as I have known him, was ever afraid to call upon him for his aid, or was ever afraid to ask of him a kindness."

The speaker, much moved with emotion, then referred to an incident of his acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln, when, a son of his being in difficulty growing out of a homicide, he had occasion to test the friendship of the late President. He said:

"On that occasion many seemed to avail themselves of the opportunity to wreak vengeance upon me in the death of my son. I wrote to Mr. Lincoln. I was in a quarter of the country where I knew he was a tower of strength; where his name raised up friends; where his arguments at law had more power than the instructions of the Court. I feared, many of his political friends being united against my son, that his services and his talents might be enlisted against him. I wrote to him, giving him all the circumstances, telling him of my wife's grief and my own, and soliciting that he would come and assist me to defend my son; that I thought he had been employed against him. I preserved his letter for a long time; I wish I had it now; I should rejoice in its possession; I would work hard to obtain the means to frame it in gold. The sum of it was this: He condoled with me and my wife in our misfortune, and

assured us that, no matter what business he might be engaged in, he would come, and he was truly sorry that I had supposed that he would take part in the prosecution of the son of a friend of his. I had offered him a fee, and in that letter he also said he knew of no act of his life that would justify me in supposing that he would take money from me or any dear friends for assisting in the defence of the life of a child.

"I wish to say that his friendship to me has continued up to a recent period. It was the fortune of the same son to move south before this rebellion broke out. By some means, he was enlisted in the service of the rebel army. My friends here know, as you judges, who sit upon the bench know, that I called upon them to unite with me in adding your influence to mine to prevail upon President Lincoln to induce him to release my boy from prison. He was captured a year and a half ago. Mr. Lincoln did so without any hesitation, and he took the pains—it was the day before Christmas a year ago, and it made my home happy—to telegraph me of the fact, which he stated (he always said things short, as he said, I believe, things better than anybody else,) in his usual manner. He said to me: 'Your son has just left me with my order to the Secretary of War to administer the oath of allegiance. I send him home to you and his mother.' I wish I had his telegram here. The mother of my boy still preserves it, and I left it to-day to be framed in the most gorgeous style my means will afford." * *

The following interesting reminiscences of the late President are from *Harper's Magazine*, and from the pen of Mr. Noah Brooks, who was to have been Mr. Lincoln's private secretary:

HIS SIMPLICITY AND ARTLESSNESS OF CHARACTER.

"All persons agree that the most marked characteristic of Mr. Lincoln's manners was his simplicity and artlessness; this immediately impressed itself upon the observation of those who met him for the first time, and each successive interview

deepened the impression. People seemed delighted to find in the ruler of the nation freedom from pomposity and affectation, mingled with a certain simple dignity which never forsook him. Though oppressed with the weight of responsibility resting upon him as President of the United States, he shrunk from assuming any of the honors, or even the titles, of the position. After years of intimate acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln the writer cannot now recall a single instance in which he spoke of himself as President, or used that title for himself, except when acting in an official capacity. He always spoke of his position and office vaguely, as 'this place,' 'here,' or other modest phrase. Once, speaking of the room in the Capitol used by the Presidents of the United States during the close of a session of Congress, he said, 'That room, you know, that they call'—dropping his voice and hesitating—'the President's room.' To an intimate friend who addressed him always by his own proper title he said, 'Now call me Lincoln, and I'll promise not to tell of the breach of etiquette—if you won't—and I shall have a resting-spell from 'Mister President.' "

HIS NATIVE DIGNITY.

"With all his simplicity and unacquaintance with courtly manners, his native dignity never forsook him in the presence of critical or polished strangers; but mixed with his angularities and *bonhomie* was something which spoke the fine fibre of the man; and, while his sovereign disregard of courtly conventionalities was somewhat ludicrous, his native sweetness and straightforwardness of manner served to disarm criticism, and impress the visitor that he was before a man pure, self-poised, collected, and strong in unconscious strength. Of him an accomplished foreigner, whose knowledge of the courts was more perfect than that of the English language, said, 'He seems to me one grand gentilhomme in disguise.' "

HIS DESIRE FOR KNOWLEDGE.

'In his eagerness to acquire knowledge of common things he sometimes surprised his distinguished visitors by inquiries

about matters that they were supposed to be acquainted with, and those who came to scrutinize went away with a vague sense of having been unconsciously pumped by the man whom they expected to pump. One Sunday evening last winter, while sitting alone with the President, the cards of Professor Agassiz and a friend were sent in. The President had never met Agassiz at that time, I believe, and said, 'I would like to talk with that man; he is a good man, I do believe; don't you think so?' But one answer could be returned to the query, and soon after the visitors were shown in, the President first whispering, 'Now sit still, and see what we can pick up that's new.' To my surprise, however, no questions were asked about the Old Silurian, the Glacial Theory, or the Great Snow-storm, but, introductions being over, the President said: 'I never knew how to properly pronounce your name; won't you give me a little lesson at that, please?' Then he asked if it were of French or Swiss derivation, to which the Professor replied that it was partly of each. That led to a discussion of different languages, the President speaking of several words in different languages which had the same root as similar words in our own tongue; then he illustrated that by one or two anecdotes, one of which he borrowed from Hood's 'Up the Rhine.' But he soon returned to his gentle cross-examination of Agassiz, and found out how the Professor studied, how he composed, and how he delivered his lectures; how he found different tastes in his audiences in different portions of the country. When afterwards asked why he put such questions to his learned visitor he said, 'Why, what we got from him isn't printed in the books; the other things are.'"

HIS MODESTY.

"The simplicityof manner which shone out in all such interviews as that here noticed was marked in his total lack of consideration of what was due his exalted station. He had an almost morbid dread of what he called 'a scene'—that is, a demonstration of applause such as always greeted his appearance in public. The first sign of a cheer sobered him; he ap-

peared sad and oppressed, suspended conversation, and looked out into vacancy; and when it was over resumed the conversation just where it was interrupted, with an obvious feeling of relief. Of the relations of a Senator to him he said, 'I think that Senator ——'s manner is more cordial to me than before.' The truth was the Senator had been looking for a sign of cordiality from his superior, but the President had reversed their relative positions. At another time, speaking of an early acquaintance, who was an applicant for an office which he thought him hardly qualified to fill, the President said, 'Well, now, I never thought M—— had any more than average ability when we were young men together; really I did not'—a pause. —'But, then, I suppose he thought just the same about me: he had reason to, and—here I am!'"

HIS PERSONAL FEARLESSNESS OF DANGER.

"The simple habits of Mr. Lincoln were so well known that it is a subject for surprise that watchful and malignant treason did not sooner take that precious life which he seemed to hold so lightly. He had an almost morbid dislike for an escort, or guard, and daily exposed himself to the deadly aim of an assassin. One summer morning, passing by the White House at an early hour, I saw the President standing at the gateway, looking anxiously down the street; and, in reply to a salutation, he said, 'Good-morning, good-morning! I am looking for a newsboy; when you get to that corner I wish you would start one up this way.' There are American citizens who consider such things beneath the dignity of an official in high place.

"In reply to the remonstrances of friends, who were afraid of his constant exposure to danger, he had but one answer: 'If they kill me, the next man will be just as bad for them; and in a country like this, where our habits are simple, and must be, assassination is always possible, and will come if they are determined upon it.' A cavalry guard was once placed at the gates of the White House for a while, and he said, privately, that he 'worried until he got rid of it.' While the President's

family were at their summer-house, near Washington, he rode into town of a morning, or out at night, attended by a mounted escort; but if he returned to town for a while after dark, he rode in unguarded, and often alone, in his open carriage. On more than one occasion the writer has gone through the streets of Washington at a late hour of the night with the President, without an escort, or even the company of a servant, walking all of the way, going and returning.

"Considering the many open and secret threats to take his life, it is not surprising that Mr. Lincoln had many thoughts about his coming to a sudden and violent end. He once said that he felt the force of the expression, 'To take one's life in his hand,' but that he would not like to face death suddenly. He said that he thought himself a great coward physically, and was sure that he should make a poor soldier, for, unless there was something in the excitement of a battle, he was sure that he would drop his gun and run at the first symptom of danger. That was said sportively, and he added, 'Moral cowardice is something which I think I never had.' Shortly after the Presidential election, in 1864, he related an incident which I will try to put upon paper here, as nearly as possible in his own words:

"'It was just after my election in 1860, when the news had been coming in thick and fast all day, and there had been a great "Hurrah, boys!" so that I was well tired out, and went home to rest, throwing myself down on a lounge in my chamber. Opposite where I lay was a bureau, with a swinging-glass upon it'—(and here he got up and placed furniture to illustrate the position)—'and, looking in that glass, I saw myself reflected, nearly at full length; but my face, I noticed, had *two* separate and distinct images, the tip of the nose of one being about three inches from the tip of the other. I was a little bothered, perhaps startled, and got up and looked in the glass, but the illusion vanished. On laying down again I saw it a second time—plainer, if possible, than before; and then I noticed that one of the faces was a little paler, say five shades, than the other.

I got up and the thing melted away, and I went off, and, in the excitement of the hour, forgot all about it—nearly, but not quite, for the thing would once in a while come up, and give me a little pang, as though something uncomfortable had happened. When I went home I told my wife about it, and a few days after I tried the experiment again, when [with a laugh], sure enough, the thing came again; but I never succeeded in bringing the ghost back after that, though I once tried very industriously to show it to my wife, who was worried about it somewhat. She thought it was a sign that I was to be elected to a second term of office, and that the paleness of one of the faces was an omen that I should not see life through the last term.'

"The President, with his usual good sense, saw nothing in all this but an optical illusion; though the flavor of superstition which hangs about every man's composition, made him wish that he had never seen it. But there are people who will now believe that this odd coincidence was 'a warning.'"

HIS KINDNESS OF HEART.

"He was often waylaid by soldiers importunate to get their back-pay, or a furlough, or a discharge; and if the case was not too complicated, would attend to it then and there. Going out of the main door of the White House one morning, he met an old lady who was pulling vigorously at the door-bell, and asked her what she wanted. She said that she wanted to see 'Abraham the Second.' The President, amused, asked who Abraham the First might be, if there was a second? The old lady replied, 'Why, Lor' bless you! we read about the first Abraham in the Bible, and Abraham the Second is our President.' She was told that the President was not in his office then, and when she asked where he was, she was told, 'Here he is!' Nearly petrified with surprise, the old lady managed to tell her errand, and was told to come next morning at nine o'clock, when she was received and kindly cared for by the President. At another time, hearing of a young man who

had determined to enter the navy as a landsman, after three years of service in the army, he said to the writer, 'Now do you go over to the Navy Department and mouse out what he is fit for, and he shall have it, if it's to be had, for that's the kind of men I like to hear of.' The place was duly 'moused out,' with the assistance of the kind-hearted Assistant Secretary of the Navy; and the young officer, who may read these lines on his solitary post off the mouth of the Yazoo river, was appointed upon the recommendation of the President of the United States. Of an application for office by an old friend, not fit for the place he sought, he said, 'I had rather resign my place and go away from here than refuse him, if I consulted only my personal feelings; but refuse him I must.' And he did.

"This same gentleness, mixed with firmness, characterized all of Mr. Lincoln's dealings with public men. Often bitterly assailed and abused, he never appeared to recognize the fact that he had political enemies; and if his attention was called to unkind speeches or remarks, he would turn the conversation of his indignant friends by a judicious story, or the remark, 'I guess we won't talk about that now.' He has himself put it on record, that he never read attacks upon himself, and if they were brought persistently before him, he had some ready excuse for their authors. Of a virulent personal attack upon his official conduct, he mildly said that it was ill-timed; and of one of his most bitter political enemies he said: 'I've been told that insanity is hereditary in his family, and I think we will admit the plea in his case.' It was noticeable that Mr. Lincoln's keenest critics and bitter opponents studiously avoided his presence; it seemed as though no man could be familiar with his homely, heart-lighted features, his single-hearted directness and manly kindliness, and remain long an enemy, or be any thing but his friend. It was this warm frankness of Mr. Lincoln's manner that made a hard-headed old 'hunker' once leave the hustings where Lincoln was speaking, in 1856,

saying, 'I won't hear him, for I don't like a man that makes me believe in him in spite of myself.'"

HIS HONESTY.

"'Honest Old Abe' has passed into the language of our time and country as a synonym for all that is just and honest in man. Yet thousands of instances, unknown to the world, might be added to those already told of Mr. Lincoln's great and crowning virtue. He disliked inuendoes, concealments, and subterfuges; and no sort of approach at official 'jobbing' ever had any encouragement from him. With him the question was not, 'Is it convenient? Is it expedient?' but, 'Is it right?' He steadily discountenanced all practices of government officers using any part of the public funds for temporary purposes; and he loved to tell of his own experience when he was saved from embarrassment by his rigid adherence to a good rule. He had been postmaster at Salem, Illinois, during Jackson's administration, William T. Barry being then Postmaster-General, and resigning his office, removed to Springfield, having sent a statement of account to the Department at Washington. No notice was taken of his account, which showed a balance due the government of over one hundred and fifty dollars, until three or four years after, when, Amos Kendall being Postmaster-General, he was presented with a draft for the amount due. Some of Mr. Lincoln's friends, who knew that he was in straitened circumstances then, as he had always been, heard of the draft, and offered to help him out with a loan; but he told them not to worry, and producing from his trunk an old pocket, tied up and marked, counted out in sixpences, shillings and quarters, the exact sum required of him, in the identical coin received by him while in office years before.

"The honesty of Mr. Lincoln appeared to spring from religious convictions, and it was his habit, when conversing of things which most intimately concerned himself, to say that, however he might be misapprehended by men who did not appear

to know him, he was glad to know that no thought or intent of his escaped the observation of that Judge by whose final decree he expected to stand or fall in this world and the next. It seemed as though this was his surest refuge at times when he was most misunderstood or misrepresented. There was something touching in his child-like and simple reliance upon Divine aid, especially when in such extremities as he sometimes fell into; then, though prayer and reading of the Scriptures was his constant habit, he more earnestly than ever sought that strength which is promised when mortal help faileth. His address upon the occasion of his re-inauguration has been said to be as truly a religious document as a state paper; and his acknowledgment of God and his providence and rule, are interwoven through all of his later speeches, letters and messages. Once he said: 'I have been driven many times upon my knees by the overwhelming conviction that I had nowhere else to go. My own wisdom and that of all about me, seemed insufficient for that day.'

"Just after the last Presidential election, he said: 'Being only mortal, after all, I should have been a little mortified if I had been beaten in this canvass before the people; but that sting would have been more than compensated by the thought that the people had notified me that all my official responsibilities were soon to be lifted off my back.' In reply to the remark that he might remember that in all these cares he was daily remembered by those who prayed, not to be heard of men, as no man had ever before been remembered, he caught at the homely phrase and said: 'Yes. I like that phrase, "not to be heard of men," and guess it's generally true, as you say; at least I have been told so, and I have been a good deal helped by just that thought.' Then he solemnly and slowly added: 'I should be the most presumptuous blockhead upon this footstool, if I for one day thought that I could discharge the duties which have come upon me since I came into this place, without the aid and enlightenment of One who is wiser and stronger than all others.'

"At another time he said, cheerfully, 'I am very sure that if I do not go away from here a wiser man, I shall go away a better man, for having learned here what a very poor sort of a man I am.' Afterward, referring to what he called a change of heart, he said that he did not remember any precise time when he passed through any special change of purpose or of heart; but he would say that his own election to office, and the crisis immediately following, influentially determined him in what he called 'a process of crystallization,' then going on in his mind. Reticent as he was, and shy of discoursing much of his own mental exercises, these few utterances now have a value with those who knew him which his dying words would scarcely have possessed.

"No man but Mr. Lincoln ever knew how great was the load of care which he bore, nor the amount of mental labor which he daily accomplished. With the usual perplexities of the office—greatly increased by the unusual multiplication of places in his gift—he carried the burdens of the civil war, which he always called 'This great trouble.' Though the intellectual man had greatly grown meantime, few persons would recognize the hearty, blithesome, genial, and wiry Abraham Lincoln of earlier days, in the sixteenth President of the United States, with his stooping figure, dull eyes, care-worn face, and languid frame. The old, clear laugh never came back; the even temper was sometimes disturbed; and his natural charity for all was often turned into an unwonted suspicion of the motives of men, whose selfishness cost him so much wear of mind. Once he said, 'Sitting here, where all the avenues to public patronage seem to come together in a knot, it does seem to me that our people are fast approaching the point where it can be said that seven-eighths of them were trying to find how to live at the expense of the other eighth.'

"It was this incessant demand upon his time, by men who sought place or endeavored to shape his policy, that broke down his courage and his temper, as well as exhausted his

strength. Speaking of the 'great flood-gates' which his doors daily opened upon him, he said, 'I suppose I ought not to blame the aggregate, for each abstract man or woman thinks his or her case a peculiar one, and must be attended to, though all others be left out; but I can see this thing growing every day.' And at another time, speaking of the exhaustive demands upon him, which left him in no condition for more important duties, he said, 'I sometimes fancy that every one of the numerous grist ground through here daily, from a Senator seeking a war with France down to a poor woman after a place in the Treasury Department, darted at me with thumb and finger, picked out their especial piece of my vitality, and carried it off. When I get through with such a day's work there is only one word which can express my condition, and that is—*flabbiness*.' There are some public men who can now remember, with self-reproaches, having increased with long evening debates that reducing 'flabbiness' of the much-enduring President."

INCIDENTS OF HIS VISIT TO THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

"Mr. Lincoln visited the Army of the Potomac in the spring of 1863, and, free from the annoyances of office, was considerably refreshed and rested; but even there the mental anxieties which never forsook him seemed to cast him down, at times, with a great weight. We left Washington late in the afternoon, and a snow-storm soon after coming on, the steamer was anchored for the night off Indian Head, on the Maryland shore of the Potomac. The President left the little knot in the cabin, and sitting alone in a corner, seemed absorbed in the saddest reflections for a time; then, beckoning a companion to him, said, 'What will you wager that half our iron-clads are at the bottom of Charleston harbor?' This being the first intimation which the other had had of Dupont's attack, which was then begun, hesitated to reply, when the President added, 'The people will expect big things when they hear of this; but it is too late—*too late!*'

"During that little voyage the captain of the steamer, a frank, modest old sailor, was so much affected by the care-worn appearance of the President, that he came to the writer and confessed that he had received the same impression of the chief magistrate that many had; hearing of his 'little stories' and his humor, he had supposed him to have no cares or sadness; but a sight of that anxious and sad face had undeceived him, and he wanted to tell the President how much he had unintentionally wronged him, feeling that he had committed upon him a personal wrong. The captain was duly introduced to the President, who talked to him privately for a space, being touched as well as amused at what he called 'Captain M——'s freeing his mind.'

"The following week, spent in riding about and seeing the army, appeared to revive Mr. Lincoln's spirits and to rest his body. A friend present observed as much to him, and he replied, 'Well, yes, I do feel some better, I think; but, somehow, it don't appear to touch the tired spot, which can't be got at.'

"Another reminiscence of his early life, which he recalled during the trip, was one concerning his experience in rail-splitting. We were driving through an open clearing, where the Virginia forest had been felled by the soldiers, when Mr. Lincoln observed, looking at the stumps, 'That's a good job of felling; they have got some good axemen in this army, I see.' The conversation turning upon his knowledge of rail-splitting, he said, 'Now let me tell you about that. I am not a bit anxious about my reputation in that line of business; but if there is any thing in this world that I am a judge of, it is of good felling of timber, but I don't remember having worked by myself at splitting rails for one whole day in my life.' Upon surprise being expressed that his national reputation as a rail-splitter should have so slight a foundation, he said, 'I recollect that, some time during the canvass for the office I now hold, there was a great mass meeting, where I was present, and with a great flourish

several rails were brought into the meeting, and being informed where they came from, I was asked to identify them, which I did, with some qualms of conscience, having helped my father to split rails, as at other odd jobs. I said if there were any rails which I had split, I shouldn't wonder if those were the rails.' Those who may be disappointed to learn of Mr. Lincoln's limited experience in splitting rails, may be relieved to know that he was evidently proud of his knowledge of the art of cutting timber, and explained minutely how a good job differed from a poor one, giving illustrations from the ugly stumps on either side."

ABSENCE OF MIND.

"An amusing yet touching instance of the President's preoccupation of mind occurred at one of his levees, when he was shaking hands with a host of visitors, passing him in a continuous stream. An intimate acquaintance received the usual conventional hand-shake and salutation; but, perceiving that he was not recognized, kept his ground, instead of moving on, and spoke again; when the President, roused by a dim consciousness that something unusual had happened, perceived who stood before him, and seizing his friend's hand, shook it again heartily, saying, 'How do you do? How do you do? Excuse me for not noticing you at first; the fact is, I was thinking of a man down South.' He afterward privately acknowledged that the 'man down South' was Sherman, then on his march to the sea.

"Mr. Lincoln had not a hopeful temperament, and, though he looked at the bright side of things, was always prepared for disaster and defeat. With his wonderful faculty for discerning results he often saw success where others saw disaster, but often perceived a failure when others were elated with victory, or were temporarily deceived by appearances. Of a great cavalry raid, which filled the newspapers with glowing exultation, but failed to cut the communications which it had been designed to destroy, he briefly said: 'That was good circus-riding; it

will do to fill a column in the newspapers; but I don't see that it has brought any thing else to pass.' He often said that the worst feature about newspapers was that they were so sure to be 'ahead of the hounds,' outrunning events, and exciting expectations which were sure to be disappointed. One of the worst effects of a victory, he said, was to lead people to expect that the war was about over in consequence of it; but he was never weary of commending the patience of the American people, which he thought something matchless and touching. I have seen him shed tears when speaking of the cheerful sacrifice of the light and strength of so many happy homes throughout the land. His own patience was marvelous; and, never crushed at defeat or unduly excited by success, his demeanor under both was an example for all men. Once he said the keenest blow of all the war was at an early stage, when the disaster of Ball's Bluff and the death of his beloved Baker smote upon him like a whirlwind from a desert."

HE WATCHES EVENTS.

"His practice of being controlled by events is well known. He often said that it was wise to wait for the developments of Providence; and the Scriptural phrase that 'the stars in their courses fought against Sisera,' to him had a depth of meaning. Then, too, he liked to feel that he was the attorney of the people, not their ruler; and I believe that this idea was generally uppermost in his mind. Speaking of the probability of his second nomination, about two years ago, he said: 'If the people think that I have managed their case for them well enough to trust me to carry up to the next term, I am sure that I shall be glad to take it.'"

HE REMEMBERS HIS FRIENDS.

"He liked to provide for his friends, who were often remembered gratefully for services given him in his early struggles in life. Sometimes he would 'break the slate,' as he called it,

of those who were making up a list of appointments, that he might insert the name of some old acquaintance who had befriended him in days when friends were few. He was not deceived by outside appearances, but took the measure of those he met, and few men were worth any more or any less than the value which Abraham Lincoln set upon them.

"Upon being told that a gentleman upon whom he was about to confer a valuable appointment had been bitterly opposed to his renomination, he said: 'I suppose that Judge ——, having been disappointed before, did behave pretty ugly; but that wouldn't make him any less fit for this place, and I have a Scriptural authority for appointing him. You recollect that while the Lord on Mount Sinai was getting out a commission for Aaron, that same Aaron was at the foot of the mountain making a false god, a golden calf, for the people to worship; yet Aaron got his commission you know.' At another time, when remonstrated with upon the appointment to place of one of his former opponents, he said: 'Nobody will deny that he is a first-rate man for the place, and I am bound to see that his opposition to me personally shall not interfere with my giving the people a good officer.'"

HIS LITTLE STORIES.

"The world will never hear the last of the 'little stories' with which the President garnished or illustrated his conversation and his early stump speeches. He said, however, that as near as he could reckon, about one-sixth of those which were credited to him were old acquaintances; all of the rest were the productions of other and better story-tellers than himself. Said he: 'I do generally remember a good story when I hear it, but I never did invent any thing original; I am only a retail dealer.' His anecdotes were seldom told for the sake of the telling, but because they fitted in just where they came, and shed a light on the argument that nothing else could. He was not witty, but brimful of humor; and though he was quick to

appreciate a good pun, I never knew of his making but one, which was on the Christian name of a friend, to whom he said: 'You have yet to be elected to the place I hold; but Noah's *reign* was before Abraham.' He thought that the chief characteristic of American humor was its grotesqueness and extravagance; and the story of a man who was so tall that he was 'laid out' in a rope-walk, the soprano voice so high that it had to be climbed over by a ladder, and the Dutchman's expression of 'somebody tying his dog loose,' all made a permanent lodgment in his mind."

HIS POWER OF MEMORY.

"His accuracy and memory were wonderful, and one illustration of the former quality may be given in the remarkable correspondence between the figures of the result of the last Presidential election and the actual sum total. The President's figures, collected hastily, and partially based upon his own estimates, made up only four weeks after the election, have been found to be only one hundred and twenty-nine less in their grand total than that made up by Mr. M'Pherson, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, who has compiled a table from the returns furnished him from the official records of all the State capitals in the loyal States."

HIS LITERARY TASTES AND HABITS.

"Latterly Mr. Lincoln's reading was with the humorous writers. He liked to repeat from memory whole chapters from these books; and on such occasions, he always preserved his own gravity though his auditors might be convulsed with laughter. He said that he had a dread of people who could not appreciate the fun of such things; and he once instanced a member of his own Cabinet, of whom he quoted the saying of Sydney Smith, 'that it required a surgical operation to get a joke into his head.' The light trifles spoken of, diverted his mind, or, as he said of his theatre-going, gave him refuge from

himself and his weariness. But he also was a lover of many philosophical books, and particularly liked Butler's Analogy of Religion, Stuart Mill on Liberty, and he always hoped to get at President Edwards on the Will. These ponderous writers found a queer companionship in the chronicler of the Mackerel Brigade, Parson Nasby, and private Miles O'Reilly. The Bible was a very familiar study with the President, whole chapters of Isaiah, the New Testament and the Psalms being fixed in his memory, and he would sometimes correct a misquotation of Scripture, giving generally the chapter and verse where it could be found. He liked the Old Testament best, and dwelt on the simple beauty of the historical books. Once, speaking of his own age and strength, he quoted with admiration, that passage, 'His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.' I do not know that he thought then, how, like that Moses of old, he was to stand on Pisgah and see a peaceful land which he was not to enter.

"Of the poets, the President appeared to prefer Hood and Holmes, the mixture and pathos in their writings being attractive to him beyond any thing else which he read. Of the former, author he liked best the last part of 'Miss Kilmansegg and her Golden Leg,' 'Faithless Sallie Brown,' and one or two others not generally so popular as those which are called Hood's best poems. Holmes's 'September Gale,' 'Last Leaf,' 'Chambered Nautilus,' and 'Ballad of an Oysterman,' were among his very few favorite poems. Longfellow's 'Psalm of Life,' and 'Birds of Killingworth,' were the only productions of that author he ever mentioned with praise, the latter of which he picked up somewhere in a newspaper, cut out, and carried in his vest pocket until it was committed to memory. James Russell Lowell he only knew as 'Hosea Biglow,' every one of whose effusions he knew. He sometimes repeated, word for word, the whole of 'John P. Robinson, he,' giving the unceasing refrain with great unction and enjoyment. He once said that

originality and daring impudence were sublimed in this stanza of Lowell's:

'Ef you take a sword and dror it,
An' stick a feller creetur thru,
Gov'ment hain't to answer for it,
God'll send the bill to you.'

"Mr. Lincoln's love of music was something passionate, but his tastes were simple and uncultivated, his choice being old airs, songs and ballads, among which the plaintive Scotch songs were best liked. 'Annie Laurie,' 'Mary of Argyle,' and especially 'Auld Robin Gray,' never lost their charm for him; and all songs which had for their theme the rapid flight of time, decay, the recollections of early days, were sure to make a deep impression. The song which he liked best, above all others, was one called 'Twenty Years Ago'—a simple air, the words to which are supposed to be uttered by a man who revisits the play-ground of his youth. He greatly desired to find music for his favorite poem, 'Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud?' and said once, when told that the newspapers had credited him with the authorship of the piece, 'I should not care much for the reputation of having written that, but would be glad if I could compose music as fit to convey the sentiment as the words now do.'

"He wrote slowly, and with the greatest deliberation, and liked to take his time; yet some of his despatches, written without any corrections, are models of compactness and finish. His private correspondence was extensive, and he preferred writing his letters with his own hand, making copies himself, frequently, and filing every thing away in a set of pigeon-holes in his office. When asked why he did not have a letter-book and copying-press, he said, 'A letter-book might be easily carried off, but that stock of filed letters would be a back load.' He conscientiously attended to his enormous correspondence, and read every thing that appeared to demand his own attention. He said that he read with great regularity the letters of an old friend, who lived on the Pacific coast, until he received

a letter of *seventy pages* of letter paper, when he broke down and never read another.

"People were sometimes disappointed, because he appeared before them with a written speech. The best explanation of that habit of his was his remark to a friend who noticed a roll of manuscript in the hand of the President as he came into the parlor while waiting for the serenade which was given him on the night following his re-election. Said he: 'I know what you are thinking about; but there's no clap-trap about me, and I am free to say that in the excitement of the moment I am sure to say something which I am sorry for when I see it in print; so I have it here in black and white, and there are no mistakes made. People attach too much importance to what I say any how.' Upon another occasion, hearing that I was in the parlor, he sent for me to come up into the library, where I found him writing on a piece of common stiff box-board with a pencil. Said he, after he had finished, 'Here is one speech of mine which has never been printed, and I think it worth printing. Just see what you think.' He then read the following, which is copied *verbatim* from the familiar handwriting before me:

"'On Thursday, of last week, two ladies from Tennessee, came before the President, asking the release of their husbands, held as prisoners of war at Johnson's Island. They were put off until Friday, when they came again, and were again put off until Saturday. At each of the interviews, one of the ladies urged that her husband was a religious man. On Saturday, when the President ordered the release of the prisoners, he said to this lady: "You say your husband is a religious man; tell him, when you meet him, that I say I am not much of a judge of religion, but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government because, as they think, that government does not sufficiently help *some* men to eat their bread in the sweat of *other* men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven.'"

"To this, the President signed his name at my request, by way of joke, and added for a caption, 'The President's Last,

shortest, and best speech,' under which title it was duly published in one of the Washington newspapers. His message to the last session of Congress was first written upon the same sort of white pasteboard above referred to, its stiffness enabling him to lay it on his knee as he sat easily in his arm-chair, writing and erasing as he thought and wrought out his idea."

One of the most interesting recorded conversations with Mr. Lincoln, both as illustrating the character of his mind, and in view of the sudden and tragic manner of his death, is that described by Colonel Charles G. Halpine, a member of General Halleck's staff, and who had frequent occasion, during the fall of 1862, to wait upon the President, both during official hours and at other times.

"Once," says Mr. H., "on what was called 'a public day,' when Mr. Lincoln received all applicants in their turn—the writer was struck by observing, as he passed through the corridor, the heterogeneous crowd of men and women, representing all ranks and classes, who were gathered in the large waiting-room outside the President's suite of offices.

"Being ushered into the President's chamber by Major Hay, the first thing he saw was Mr. Lincoln bowing an elderly lady out of the door—the President's remarks to her being, as she still lingered and appeared reluctant to go: 'I am really very sorry, madame; very sorry. But your own good sense must tell you that I am not here to collect small debts. You must appeal to the courts in regular order.'

"When she was gone, Mr. Lincoln sat down, crossed his legs, locked his hands over his knees, and commenced to laugh this being his favorite attitude when much amused.

"'What odd kinds of people come in to see me,' he said 'and what odd ideas they must have about my office! Would you believe, major, that the old lady who has just left came in

here to get from me an order for stopping the pay of a Treasury clerk, who owes her a board bill of about seventy dollars?' And the President rocked himself backward and forward, and appeared intensely amused.

"She may have come in here a loyal woman,' continued Mr. Lincoln, 'but I'll be bound she has gone away believing that the worst pictures of me in the Richmond press only lack truth in not being half black and bad enough.'

"This led to a somewhat general conversation, in which I expressed surprise that he did not adopt the plan in force at all military headquarters, under which every applicant to see the general commanding had to be filtered through a sieve of officers—assistant adjutant-generals, and so forth, who allowed none in to take up the general's time save such as they were satisfied had business of sufficient importance, and which could be transacted in no other manner than by a personal interview.

"Of every hundred people who come to see the general-in-chief daily, I explained, not ten have any sufficient business with him, nor are they admitted. On being asked to explain for what purpose they desire to see him, and stating it, it is found, in nine cases out of ten, that the business properly belongs to some one or other of the subordinate bureaux. They are then referred, as the case may be, to the quartermaster, commissary, medical, adjutant-general, or other departments, with an assurance that, even if they saw the general-in-chief, he could do nothing more for them than give them the same direction. With these points courteously explained, I added, they go away quite content, although refused admittance.

"'Ah, yes!' said Mr. Lincoln, gravely—and his words on this matter are important as illustrating a rule of his action, and to some extent, perhaps, the essentially representative character of his mind and of his administration. 'Ah, yes! such things do very well for you military people, with your arbitrary rule, and in your camps. But the office of President is essentially a civil one, and the affair is very different. For myself, I feel,

though the tax on my time is heavy, that no hours of my day are better employed than those which thus bring me again within the direct contact and atmosphere of the average of our whole people. Men moving only in an official circle are apt to become merely official, not to say arbitrary in their ideas, and are apter and apter, with each passing day, to forget that they only hold power in a representative capacity. Now this is all wrong. I go into these promiscuous receptions of all who claim to have business with me twice each week, and every applicant for audience has to take his turn as if waiting to be shaved in a barber's shop. Many of the matters brought to my notice are utterly frivolous, but others are of more or less importance, and all serve to renew in me a clearer and more vivid image of that great popular assemblage out of which I sprang, and to which at the end of two years I must return. I tell you, major,' he said—appearing at this point to recollect I was in the room, for the former part of these remarks had been made with half-shut eyes, as if in soliloquy—'I tell you that I call these receptions my public-opinion baths, for I have but little time to read the papers and gather public opinion that way; and though they may not be pleasant in all their particulars, the effect, as a whole, is renovating and invigorating to my perceptions of responsibility and duty. It would never do for a President to have guards with drawn sabres at his door, as if he fancied he were, or were trying to be, or were assuming to be an emperor.'

"This remark about 'guards with drawn sabres at his door,' called my attention afresh to what I had remarked to myself almost every time I entered the White House, both then and since, and to which I had very frequently called the attention both of Major Hay and General Halleck—the utterly unprotected condition of the President's person, and the fact that any assassin or maniac, seeking his life, could enter his presence without the interference of a single armed man to hold him back. The entrance doors, and all doors on the official side of

the building, were open at all hours of the day, and very late into the evening: and I have many times entered the mansion and walked up to the rooms of the two private secretaries as late as nine or ten o'clock at night, without seeing or being challenged by a single soul. There were, indeed, two attendants, one for the outer door and the other for the door of the official chambers; but these, thinking, I suppose, that none would call after office hours save persons who were personally acquainted, or had the right of official entry, were, not unfrequently, somewhat remiss in their duties.

"To this fact I now ventured to call the President's attention, saying that to me—perhaps from my European education—it appeared a deliberate courting of danger, even if the country were in a state of the profoundest peace, for the person at the head of the nation to remain so unprotected.

"'Even granting, Mr. Lincoln,' I said, 'that no assassin should seek your life, the large number of lunatics always in a community, and always larger in times like these, and the tendency which insanity has to strike at shining objects, or whomsoever is most talked about, should lead—I submit—to some guards about the place, and to some permanent officers with the power and duty of questioning all who seek to enter.' To this I added some brief sketch of the all but innumerable crazy letters and projects which were continually being received at General Halleck's headquarters, and which he had, one day, laughingly turned over to me, on the ground that I now and then wrote verses.

"'There are two dangers, therefore,' I wound up by saying; 'the danger of deliberate political assassination, and the mere brute violence of insanity.'

"Mr. Lincoln had heard me with a smile, his hands still locked across his knees, and his body still rocking back and forth—the common indication that he was amused.

"'Now, as to political assassination,' he said, 'do you think the Richmond people would like to have Hannibal Hamlin here

any better than myself? In that one alternative, I have an insurance on my life worth half the prairie land of Illinois. And beside,'—this more gravely—'if there were such a plot, and they wanted to get at me, no vigilance could keep them out. We are so mixed up in our affairs, that—no matter what the system established—a conspiracy to assassinate, if such there were, could easily obtain a pass to see me for any one or more of its instruments.

"'To betray fear of this, by placing guards or so forth, would only be to put the idea into their heads, and perhaps lead to the very result it was intended to prevent. As to the crazy folks, Major, why I must only take my chances—the worst crazy people at present, I fear, being some of my own too zealous adherents. That there may be such dangers as you and many others have suggested to me, is quite possible; but I guess it wouldn't improve things any to publish that we were afraid of them in advance.'

"At this point, the President turned to the papers I had brought over for his signature, and, signing them, handed them to me with some message for General Halleck. Whereupon I bowed myself out, and the stream of omnium-gatherum humanity, from the waiting-rooms, again commenced flowing in upon him—sometimes in individual—sometimes in deputational or collective waves.

"The whole interview I have here narrated, though taking so much longer to tell, had probably not endured over ten or fifteen minutes; and it was the first, although not the only time that I heard Mr. Lincoln discuss the possibility of an attempt to assassinate him.

"The second time was when he came over, one evening, after dinner, to General Halleck's private quarters to protest—half jocularly, half in earnest—against a small detachment of cavalry which had been detailed without his request, and partly against his will, by the lamented General Wadsworth, as a guard for his carriage in going to and returning from the Sol-

diers' Home. The burden of his complaint was that he and Mrs. Lincoln 'couldn't hear themselves talk,' for the clatter of their sabers and spurs; and that, as many of them appeared new hands and very awkward, he was more afraid of being shot by the accidental discharge of one of their carbines or revolvers, than of any attempt upon his life or for his capture by the roving squads of Jeb Stuart's cavalry, then hovering all round the exterior works of the city."

"Mr. Lincoln," says the Rev. M. D. Conway, "answered well Frederick the Great's definition of a prince—the first of subjects. His confidence in the people was as simple and unhesitating as his loyalty to them was perfect. He believed that there was, under all parties, a substratum of patriotism; and I never saw his eye shine more, than when some one told of a town in Ohio, where, up to the time of the war, two party-flags had been flying, and whose inhabitants, when they heard of the attack upon Fort Sumter, cut down the two poles, with their flags, and making the two into one, hoisted it with the stars and stripes, alone, at its head.'

"A few days before the advance of the Army of the Potomac, previous to the Bull Run battle in 1861, thirty thousand new troops passed through Washington, and were reviewed by the President and his Cabinet. In connection with this, the imposing ceremony was to be performed of raising a flag near the Treasury Department, and this was a kind of work that Lincoln loved to do with his own hands. A platform had been erected at the foot of the flag-staff, and when the President took his place upon it, thousands of loyal citizens gathered around to see the glorious emblem hoisted in mid-air. It was an imposing sight, when the President's tall figure appeared standing in the midst of his councillors with the halyards in his hands ready to send the stars and stripes aloft. With his hand uplifted and his face raised toward the sky, he ran the flag up, and saw it catch the wind and float slowly out between him and the blue sky. He stood looking at it a moment, then turned

his bright earnest eyes upon the uplifted faces of the crowd. 'My friends,' he said, in a clear, full voice, 'it is an easy thing for me to run this flag up to the top of the staff, but it will take the whole nation to keep it there.'

"A shout rung out from the multitude, one of those wild impulsive echoes of a thousand hearts, which bespeak the enthusiasm of untried strength. It seemed an easy thing to the people, with the tramp of those thirty thousand new troops in their ears, to keep thousands of star-spangled banners skyward; but before many days had passed, the rush of fugitive feet, as they fled along those very pavements, proved how prophetic was that simple speech of President Lincoln."

CLOSING CHAPTER.

ESTIMATE OF MR. LINCOLN'S LIFE, CHARACTER AND WORK.

We can, in conclusion, offer our readers no clearer analysis, and no more appreciative *resume* of the character of our distinguished subject, whose career we have thus traced from his humble cradle to his thrice-honored grave, than is contained in the sermon preached on Sabbath, April 30th, 1865, by the Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, D. D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, of New York city, on

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, HIS LIFE AND ITS LESSONS.

* * * * "An analysis of the mental and moral traits of Mr. Lincoln, will show us how complete was his adaptation for that very period of our national history which he was called to fill, and which he has made so peculiarly his own. His mental processes were characterized by originality, clearness, comprehensiveness, sagacity, logical fitness, acumen, and strength. He was an original thinker; not in the sense of always having new and striking ideas, for such originality may be as daring and dangerous as it is peculiar and rare; but he was original in that his ideas were in some characteristic way his own. However common to other minds, however simple and axiomatic when stated, they bore the stamp of individuality. Not a message or proclamation did he write, not a letter did he pen, which did not carry on the face of it '*Abraham Lincoln*, his mark.' He thought out every subject for himself; and he did not commit himself in public upon any subject which he had not made his own by reflection. Hence even familiar thoughts coming before us in the simple rustic

garb of his homely speech, seemed fresh and new. He took from the mint of political science the bullion which philosophers had there deposited, and coined it into proverbs for the people. Or, in the great placer of political speculations, he sometimes struck a lode of genuine metal, and wrought it with his own hands.

"'The Union is older than the Constitution;' 'The Union made the Constitution, and not the Constitution the Union.'

"'Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws?'

"'Capital is the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed.'

"'In *giving* freedom to the *slave*, we *assure* freedom to the *free*.'

"'Often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb.'

"What volumes of philosophy, of history, of political economy, of legal and ethical science, are condensed into these pithy sentences, each bearing the mark of Mr. Lincoln's individuality. Much of this individuality of thought was due to the seclusion of his early life from books and schools, and to the meditative habit induced by the solitude of the forest.

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"The simplifying of thought was a passion with him; and in his own pithy words, 'I was never easy until I had a thought bounded on the north, and bounded on the south, and bounded on the east, and bounded on the west.'

"How much the American people will hereafter owe to him for having staked out the boundaries of political ideas hitherto but vaguely comprehended. How conclusive against the right of secession is this clearly-bounded statement of the first inaugural:

"'I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of

all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its own organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure for ever, it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.'

"The opening sentence of his Springfield speech, June 17, 1858, which was the foundation of his great debate with Douglas, bounded the question of nationalizing slavery so clearly and sharply, that Mr. Lincoln had only to repeat that statement from time to time, to clinch every argument of every speech: 'A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.'

"Mr. Douglas's policy was fast making it 'all one thing;' Mr. Lincoln lived to make it, and to see it 'all the other!'

"Imagination and a poetic sensibility were not wanting in a soul that could conceive the last inaugural or could indite the closing sentence of the first: 'The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.'

"He was an ardent admirer of Burns, and a discriminating student of Shakespeare.

"Enthusiasm was not lacking in a mind that, in the midst of a wasting civil war, could prophecy: 'There are already those among us, who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain two hundred and fifty millions. The struggle *of* to-day is not altogether *for* to-day; it is for a vast future also.'

"But neither enthusiasm nor imagination ever mastered that calm, clear judgment, trained to a cautious self-reliance by the early discipline of the forest school.

"Comprehensiveness was equally characteristic of Mr. Lincoln's views, upon questions where breadth was as important as clearness of vision. Those who have had occasion to consult with him upon public affairs have often remarked, that even in the course of protracted and able deliberations, there would arise no aspect of the question which had not already occurred to the mind of the President, and been allowed its weight in forming his opinion. His judgment was roundabout, encompassing the subject upon every side; it was circumspect—attending to all the circumstances of the case, and patiently investigating its minutiæ. He would not approve the finding of a court-martial without reading over carefully the details of the evidence, and hearing the pleas of the condemned and his friends; and this conscientious legal and judicial habit, applied to questions of state policy, gave to his views a breadth and solidity beyond the grasp of the mere speculative politician. Hence came that reputation for sagacity and insight, which grew with our observation of the man and with the unfolding of events ratifying his judgment. How often where his seeming hesitancy had tried our patience, have we come to see that he had surveyed the whole question, had anticipated what lay beyond, and was biding his time. His studied silence touching his own intentions, in his replies to speeches of welcome along the route from Springfield to Washington in 1861, was dictated by his comprehensive wisdom. At every point he baffled curiosity and rebuked impatience by avowing his determination not to speak at all upon public questions until he could speak advisedly. 'I deem it just to you, to myself, and to all, that I should see every thing, that I should hear every thing, that I should have every light that can be brought within my reach, in order that when I do speak, I shall have enjoyed every opportunity to take correct and true grounds; and for this reason I don't propose to speak, at this time, of the policy of the government."* This was not the evasiveness of the politician, but the wise reserve of the statesman.

* Speech to the Legislature of New York.

"He maintained the same reticence upon the difficult problem of re-organization, which was the burden of his latest public utterance, after the fall of Richmond. His adroit substitution of a story or a witticism for a formal speech, at times when his words were watched and weighed, was but another illustration of his practical sagacity. And when the secret history of the dark periods of the war shall be disclosed, Mr. Lincoln will stand justified before the world, alike for his reticence while waiting for light, and for a policy guided by an almost prophetic insight, when, by patient waiting, he had gained clearness and comprehensiveness of view.

"The mental processes of Mr. Lincoln were characterized, moreover, by a logical fitness, keenness, and strength. Not for naught did he master the science of demonstration. His speeches are a *catena* of propositions and proofs that bind the mind to his conclusions as soon as his premises are conceded. In his great debate with Mr. Douglas—a debate accompanied with all the excitements of a political canvass, and in which he was called upon to reply to his opponent in the hearing of eager thousands—it is remarkable that he never had occasion to retract or even to qualify any of his positions, that he never contradicted himself, nor abandoned an argument that he had once assumed. His caution and circumspection led him to choose his words and to state only that which he could maintain. His clear and comprehensive survey of his subject made him the master of his own position; and his calm, strong logic, and his keen power of dissection, made him a formidable antagonist. He who had such force of resolution, that in full manhood, after he had been a member of the State legislature, he could go to school to Euclid to learn how to demonstrate, was likely to reason to some purpose when he had laid down his propositions.

"But it was mainly his adherence to ethical principles in political discussions that gave such point and force to his reasonings; for no politician of this generation has applied Chris-

tian ethics to questions of public policy with more of honesty, of consistency, or of downright earnestness. Standing in the old Independence Hall at Philadelphia, he said, 'All the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence.'* But the sentiments of the Declaration which Mr. Lincoln emphasized are not simply political ideas—they are ethical principles. That 'all men are *created* equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'—these are principles of natural ethics, sustained by the august sanctions of that God who is 'no respecter of persons.' And it was as truths of moral obligation that Abraham Lincoln adopted them as the rule of his political faith. He entered into public life, thirty years ago, with the distinct avowal of the doctrine whose final ratification by the people he has sealed with his blood—that 'the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy.'† His whole life was true to that conviction. His great campaign for the senatorship, in 1858, was conducted throughout upon moral grounds. 'I confess myself as belonging to that class in the country who contemplate slavery as a moral, social, and political evil, having due regard for its actual existence among us and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations which have been thrown about it; but nevertheless, desire a policy that looks to the prevention of it as a wrong, and looks hopefully to the time when as a wrong it may come to an end.'‡ 'If slavery is not wrong nothing is wrong.'§

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*Speech of 21st of February, 1861.

†Protest in Illinois House of Representatives, March 3, 1837.

‡Speech at Galesburg, October 7, 1858.

§Letter so A. G. Hodges, Esq., of Kentucky.

"'Only one thing,' said he, in his speech at Cooper Institute, 'will satisfy our opponents. Cease to call slavery *wrong*, and join them in calling it *right*. If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances, such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man—such as a policy of 'don't care,' on a question about which all true men do care—such as Union appeals, beseeching true Union men to yield to disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance—such as invocations of Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did. Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty, as we understand it.'

"Mr. Lincoln's logic was pointed with wit, and his ethical reasoning was often set home by a pithy story. The reputation of a story-teller and a jester was turned by his opponents to his disparagement; but his stories were philosophy in parables, and his jests were morals. If sometimes they smacked of humble life, this was due not to his tastes but to his early associations. His wit was always used with point and purpose; for the boy who committed all Esop's fables to memory had learned too well the use of story and of parable to forego that keen weapon in political argument. The whole people took his witty caution 'not to swop horses in the middle of the stream.'

"The base-born plea that social amalgamation would follow the emancipation of the negro, he met by a rare stroke of wit. 'I do not understand that because I do not want a negro

woman for a slave, I must necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I can just let her alone. I am now in my fiftieth year, and I certainly never have had a black woman for either a slave or a wife. So it seems to me quite possible for us to get along without making either slaves or wives of negroes. I recollect but one distinguished advocate of the perfect equality of the races, and that is Judge Douglas's old friend, Colonel Richard M. Johnson.'*

"Yet Mr. Lincoln's wit was never malicious nor rudely personal. Once when Mr. Douglas had attempted to parry an argument by impeaching the veracity of a Senator whom Mr. Lincoln had quoted, he answered, that the question was not one of veracity, but simply one of argument. 'By a course of reasoning, Euclid proves that all the angles in a triangle are equal to two right angles. Now, if you undertake to disprove that proposition, would you prove it to be false by calling Euclid a liar?'†

"Passing from the intellectual traits of Mr. Lincoln to his moral qualities, we find in these the same providential preparation for his work, through long years of hardy training. He was of a meek and a patient spirit—both prime elements in a strong character. It might almost be said of him, as it was said of Moses, that 'he was meek above all the men which were upon the face of the earth.' The early discipline of poverty, toil, and sorrow, accompanied with maternal lessons of submission to God, had taught him to labor and to wait in the patience of hope. It was a household saying of his mother, when times were hard and days were dark, 'It isn't best to borrow too much trouble. We must have faith in God.' And so Abraham learned that 'it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth; and it is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord.' And when the

* Speech at Columbus, February, 1859.

† Speech at Charleston, September 18, 1858.

yoke of a nation's burdens and sorrows was laid upon his shoulders, his gentle, patient spirit accepted it without faltering and without repining. He did not borrow too much trouble, but had faith in God. Neither the violence of enemies, nor the impatience and distrust of friends, could irritate him; neither the threats of traitors, nor the zeal of partisans, could disturb his equanimity, or urge him faster than Providence, speaking through the logic of events, would seem to lead him. 'Thy gentleness,' said the Psalmist, 'hath made me great;' and a certain divine gentleness had possessed and fortified the soul of Abraham Lincoln.

"Cheerfulness was with him a moral quality as well as the native cast of his temperament. It sprang from the consciousness of sincerity, from good will toward men, and from habitual trust in God. His playful humor sometimes belied him; since no man was farther removed from levity and frivolity of mind. A thoughtful earnestness prevaded his being—an earnestness that sometimes verged upon sadness, yet never sank into moroseness. It was a cheerful earnestness: and while cheerfulness was the tone of his temperament, he cultivated this quality for the relief of his own mind, and for the stimulation of others against despondency.

"I shall ever cherish among the brightest memories of life, an hour in his working-room last September, which was one broad sheet of sunshine. He had spent the morning poring over the returns of a court-martial upon capital cases, and studying to decide them according to truth; and upon the entrance of a friend, he threw himself into an attitude of relaxation, and sparkled with good-humor. I will not repeat, lest they should be misconstrued, his trenchant witticisms upon political topics now gone by; yet one of these can wound no living patriot. I spoke of the rapid rise of Union feeling since the promulgation of the Chicago platform, and the victory at Atlanta; and the question was started, which had contributed the most to the reviving of Union sentiment—the victory or

the platform. 'I guess,' said the President, 'it was the victory; at any rate I'd rather have that repeated.'

"Being informed of the death of John Morgan, he said, 'Well, I wouldn't crow over any body's death; but I can take this as *resignedly* as any dispensation of Providence. Morgan was a coward, a nigger-driver; a low creature such as you northern men know nothing about.'

"The political horizon was still overcast, but he spoke with unaffected confidence and cheerfulness of the result; saying with emphasis, 'I rely upon the religious influence of the country, which I am told is very largely for me.'

"Even in times of deepest solicitude, he maintained this cheerful serenity before others. It may be said of him, as of his great prototype, William of Orange, 'His jocoseness was partly natural, partly intentional. In the darkest hours of his country's trial, he affected a serenity which he did not always feel, so that his apparent gayety at momentous epochs was even censured by dullards, who could not comprehend its philosophy. He went through life bearing the load of a people's sorrows upon his shoulders with a smiling face.'

"It is pleasant to know that what was, perhaps, the last official act of the President, before the fatal night, was performed in this spirit of joyousness. The Governor of Maryland called upon him with a friend late on Friday, and found him very cheerful over the state of the country; at the close of the interview, one of the visitors asked a little favor for a friend; the President wrote the necessary order, and said, 'Any thing now to make the people happy.'

"His kindness and sensibility were proverbial almost to a fault. Yet no other single trait so well exhibits the majesty of his soul; for it was not a sentimental tenderness—the mere weakness of a sympathetic nature—but a kindness that proceeded from an intelligent sympathy and good will for humanity, and a Christian hatred of all injustice and wrong. He once said, in a political speech: 'The Saviour, I suppose, did not ex-

pect that any human creature could be perfect as the Father in heaven; but he said, As your Father in heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect. He set that up as a standard, and he who did most toward reaching that standard attained the highest degree of moral perfection.' With a noble contempt for political prejudices, and with a touching moral simplicity, Mr. Lincoln avowed this principle in his treatment of the negro: 'In pointing out that more has been given you (by the Creator), you cannot be justified in taking away the little which has been given him. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy. In the right to eat the bread, without the leave of any body else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.'

"In his highest prosperity he never forgot his kindred with men of low estate. Amid all the cares of office his ear was always open to a tale of sorrow or of wrong, and his hand was always ready to relieve suffering and to remedy injustice. I seem to see him now, leaning against the railing that divides the war-office from the White House, while the carriage is waiting at the door, and listening to the grievance of a plain man, then sitting down upon the coping and writing on a card an order to have the case investigated and remedied. An undignified position, do you say? It was the native dignity of kindness.

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"Akin to this kindliness and sensibility was his magnaminity of soul. 'I would despise myself,' said he in his debate with Douglas, 'if I supposed myself ready to deal less liberally with an adversary than I was willing to be treated myself.' And again he said: 'If I have stated any thing erroneous—if I have brought forward any thing not a fact—it needed only that Judge Douglas should point it out, it will not even ruffle me to take it back. I do not deal in that way.'

"How magnanimously he disclaimed personal praise, and

accorded honor to others. You will at once recall his letter to General Grant after the capture of Vicksburg:

"'I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment of the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I write to say a word further. . . . When you took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment, that you were right and I was wrong.'

"How gently he assuaged the tumult of party strifes by his tone of magnanimity toward his defeated opponent, in acknowledging a popular ovation rendered him upon his re-election to the Presidency.

"Such was the whole spirit of his public life, culminating at last in an utterance which shall be immortal—'WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE, WITH CHARITY FOR ALL.'

"The inflexible integrity of Mr. Lincoln has imprinted itself upon the heart and the history of the American people, in that familiar, but honorable epithet, '*Honest Abe*.' His was not simply a commercial honesty, in dollars and cents, but honesty in opinion, honesty in speech, honesty of purpose, honesty in action. 'Always speak the truth, my son,' said his mother to him, when in her Sabbath readings she expounded the ninth commandment. 'I do tell the truth,' was his uniform reply.

"When Douglas attempted to impeach a statement of a brother Senator, who was Mr. Lincoln's personal friend, Lincoln replied, 'I am ready to indorse him, because, neither in that thing nor in any other, in all the years that I have known Lyman Trumbull, have I known him to fail of his word, or tell a falsehood, large or small:' and that to Abraham Lincoln was a certificate of character.

"His integrity carried him through arduous political campaigns, without the shadow of deviation from principle. He

adopted great principles and by these he was willing to live or die. His debate with Douglas, as I before said, was throughout a struggle for principle—the principle that slavery was wrong, and therefore that the nation should not sanction it nor suffer its extension. 'I do not claim,' he said, 'to be unselfish; I do not pretend that I would not like to go to the United States Senate; I make no such hypocritical pretence, but I do say to you that in this mighty issue, it is nothing to you, nothing to the mass of the people of the nation, whether or not Judge Douglas or myself shall ever be heard of after this night; it may be a trifle to either of us, but in connection with this mighty question, upon which hang the destinies of the nation perhaps, it is absolutely nothing.'

"When about to assume the grave responsibilities of the Presidency, he said to his fellow citizens, 'I promise you that I bring to the work a sincere heart. Whether I will bring a head equal to that heart will be for future times to determine.'* That his head was equal to his task all now agree; but it is far more to his honor that through all the temptations of office, he held fast his integrity. One who was much with him, testifies that 'in every thing he did he was governed by his conscience, and when ambition intruded, it was thrust aside by his conviction of right.' What he said he did, 'without shadow of turning.' He was as firm for the right as he was forbearing toward the wrong-doer. How solemn his appeal to the seceders, at the close of his first inaugural: 'You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it.' That oath he kept with all honesty and fidelity.

"This honesty of principle inspired him with true moral heroism. Abraham Lincoln always met his duty as calmly as he met his death. He knew, at any time in the last four years, that to do his duty would be to court death; but in his first

* Speech at Philadelphia, February 20, 1861.

message he laid down the moral consideration that overruled all personal fears: 'As a private citizen the Executive could not have consented that these institutions shall perish; much less could he, in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as these free people had confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the chances of his own life in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility he has so far done what he has deemed his duty. Having thus chosen our course without guile, and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts.'"

Bishop Simpson has quoted from a speech of Mr. Lincoln, in 1839, a declaration of the most heroic patriotism:

"Of the slave power he said, 'Broken by it? I too may be asked to bow to it. I never will. The probability that we may fail in the struggle, ought not to deter us from the support of a cause which I deem to be just. It shall not deter me. If I ever feel the soul within me elevate and expand to dimensions not wholly unworthy of its Almighty architect, it is when I contemplate the cause of my country deserted by all the world beside, and I standing up boldly and alone, and hurling defiance at her victorious oppressors. Here, without contemplating consequences, before high heaven, and in the face of the world, I swear eternal fidelity to the just cause, as I deem it, of the land of my life, my liberty, and my love.'

"With what a lofty courage, too, did he stand by the rights and liberties of those to whom he was pledged by his proclamation of January 1, 1863.

"What nobler words could be inscribed upon his monument than these from his last message: 'I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation. Nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free

by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress. If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.'

"It was that decree of emancipation that inspired the hatred that compassed his murder. Yet from the day of his nomination he had been marked for a violent death; and knowing this, he had devoted his life to the cause of liberty. At Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, he said, in 1861, 'Can this country be saved upon the basis of the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world, if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved on that principle it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say *I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it.* I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.'

"A calm trust in God was the loftiest, worthiest characteristic in the life of Abraham Lincoln. He had learned this long ago. 'I would rather Abe would be able to read the Bible than to own a farm, if he can't have but one,' said his godly mother. That Bible was Abraham Lincoln's guide. Mr. Jay informs me, that being on the steamer which conveyed the governmental party from Fortress Monroe to Norfolk, after the destruction of the Merrimac, while all on board were excited by the novelty of the excursion and by the incidents that it recalled, he missed the President from the company, and, on looking about, found him in a quiet nook, reading a well-worn Testament. Such an incidental revelation of his religious habits is worth more than pages of formal testimony.

"The constant recognition of God in his public documents shows how completely his mind was under the dominion of religious faith. This is never a common-place formalism nor a misplaced cant. To satisfy ourselves of Mr. Lincoln's Christian

character, we have no need to resort to apocryphal stories that illustrate the assurance of his victories quite as much as the simplicity of his faith; we have but to follow internal evidences, as the workings of his soul reveal themselves through his own published utterances. On leaving Springfield for the capital, he said:

"'A duty devolves upon me which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain.'

"He knew himself to be surrounded by a religious community who were acquainted with his life, and his words were spoken in all sincerity.

"At Gettysburg, with a grand simplicity worthy of Demosthenes, he dedicated himself with religious earnestness to the great task yet before him, in humble dependence upon God. Owning the power of vicarious sacrifice, he said, 'We cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on.'

"We distinctly trace the growth of this feeling of religious consecration in his public declarations: 'We can but press on, guided by the best light God gives us, trusting that in his own good time and wise way, all will be well. Let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy, final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that

a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result.'* 'The nation's condition is not what either party or any man desired or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.'† This devout feeling culminated at length in that sublime confession of faith, of humility, of dependence, of consecration, known as his last inaugural. It is said, upon good authority, that had he lived, he would have made a public profession of his faith in Christ. But Abraham Lincoln needed no other confession than that which he made on the 4th of March last in the hearing of all nations.

"A Christian lady, who was profoundly impressed with the religious tone of the inaugural, requested, through a friend in Congress, that the President would give her his autograph by the very pen that wrote that now immortal document, adding that her sons should be taught to repeat its closing paragraph with their catechism. The President, with evident emotion, replied, 'She shall have my signature, and with it she shall have that paragraph. It comforts me to know that my sentiments are supported by the Christian ladies of our country.'

"His pastor at Washington, after being near him steadily, and with him often for more than four years, bears this testimony: 'I speak what I know, and testify what I have often heard him say, when I affirm the guidance and the mercy of God were the props on which he humbly and habitually leaned;' and that 'his abiding confidence in God and in the final triumph of truth and righteousness through him and for his sake, was his noblest virtue, his grandest principle, the secret alike of his strength, his patience, and his success.'

"Thus trained of God for his great work, and called of God

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* Letter to Kentucky. † Letter to A. G. Hodges, April, 1864.

in the fulness of time, how grandly did Abraham Lincoln meet his responsibilities and round up his life. How he grew under pressure. How often did his patient heroism in the earlier years of the war serve us in the stead of victories. He carried our mighty sorrows; while he never knew rest, nor the enjoyment of office. How wisely did his cautious, sagacious, comprehensive judgment deliver us from the perils of haste. How clearly did he discern the guiding hand and the unfolding will of God. How did he tower above the storm in his unselfish patriotism, resolved to save the unity of the nation. And when the day of duty and of opportunity came, how firmly did he deal the last great blow for liberty, striking the shackles from three million slaves; while 'upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of *justice*, warranted by the Constitution (upon military necessity), he invoked the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.' Rightly did he regard this Proclamation as the central act of his administration, and the central fact of the nineteenth century. Let it be engraved upon our walls, upon our hearts; let the scene adorn the rotunda of the Capitol—henceforth a sacred shrine of liberty. It needed only that the seal of martyrdom upon such a life should cause his virtues to be transfigured before us in imperishable grandeur, and his name to be emblazoned with heaven's own light upon that topmost arch of fame, which shall stand when governments and nations fall.

"Moderate, resolute,
Whole in himself, a common good.
Mourn for the man of amplest influence,
Yet clearest of ambitious crime,
Our greatest yet with least pretence,
Rich in saving common-sense,
And as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity sublime.

. . . . . .

Who never sold the truth, to serve the hour,
Nor paltered with Eternal God for power—

Who let the turbid streams of rumor flow
Thro' either babbling world of high and low;
Whose life was work, whose language rife
With rugged maxims hewn from life;
Who never spoke against a foe."

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To this brilliant estimate of Mr. Lincoln's life and character, let us add the glowing and comprehensive "summing up" of his life's work, as presented in the eloquent language of the Rev. Dr. R. S. Stone, in a public oration delivered in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, July 4th, 1865:

"Such was the man for whom we mourn, and such the position in which Providence had placed him. Think, then, a moment of the work which he wrought in it.

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"How singular it is among the recorded achievements of man! How plainly is revealed in it a higher any than human will, laying out and arranging the mighty scheme! When he took in hand the reins of the government, the finances of the country seemed hopelessly deranged, and after many years of peace it was difficult to raise money, at unprecedented interest, for its daily use. And when he died—after such expenditures as no man had dreamed of through four long years of devastating war—the credit of the republic was so firmly established that foreign markets were clamorous for its bonds, and the very worst thing that could have happened—his own destruction—did not depress, by one hair's breadth, the absolute confidence of our own people in them. When he came to Washington, the navy at the command of the government was scattered, almost beyond recall, to the ends of the earth, and was even ludicrously insufficient for instant needs. He left it framed of iron instead of oak, with wholly new principles expressed in its structure, and large enough to bind the continent in blockade,

while it made the national flag familiar on every sea which commerce crosses. He found an army mostly dispersed, almost hopelessly disorganized by the treachery of its officers; with hardly enough of it left at hand to furnish a body-guard for his march to the capital. He left a half million of men in arms, after the losses of fifty campaigns, with valor, discipline, arms, and generalship unequalled in the world, and admonitory to it. He found our diplomacy a by-word and a hissing in most of the principal foreign courts; he made it intelligent, influential, respected wherever a civilized language is spoken. In his moral and political achievements at home he was still more successful. He found the arts of industry prostrated, almost paralyzed, indeed, by the arrest of commerce, the repudiation of debts, the universal distrust. He left them so trained, tutored, and developed that henceforth they are secure amid the world's competition. He came to Washington through a people morally rent and disorganized; of whom it was known that a part at least were in full accord with the disloyal plans, and concerning whom it was feared by many, and predicted by some, that the slightest pressure from the government upon them would resolve them at once into fighting factions. He laid heavy taxes, he drafted them into armies, he made no effort to excite their admiration, he seemed to throw down even the ancient monuments of their personal liberty; and he went back to his grave through the very same people, so knit into one by their love for each other and their reverence for him, that the cracking of the continent hardly could part them. At his entrance on his office, he found the leaders of the largest, fiercest, most tenacious rebellion known to history, apparently in all things superior to himself; in capacity, in culture, in political experience, in control over men, in general weight with the country itself; and when he was assassinated, he left them so utterly overthrown and discomfited that they fled over sea or hid themselves in women's skirts. A power it had taken fifty years to mature—a power that put every thing into the contest—money, men, harbors, homes,

churches, cities, States themselves—and that fought with a fury never surpassed, he not only crushed, but extinguished in four years. A court that had been the chief bulwark of slavery, he so re-organized as to make it a citadel of liberty and light for all time to come. He found a race immured in a bondage that had lasted already two hundred years, and had only been compacted and fortified by invention and commerce, by arts, by legislation, by social usage, by ethnic theories, and even by what was called religion; he pretended to no special fondness for the race; he refused to make war in its behalf; but he took it up cheerfully in the sweep of his plans, and left it a race of free workers and soldiers. He came to the capital of an empire severed by what seemed to the world eternal lines; with sectional interests and irremovable hatreds forbidding reconstruction. He left it the capital of an empire so restored that the thought of its division is henceforth an absurdity; with its unity more complete than that of Great Britain; with its flag and its unchallenged rule supreme again from the lakes to the gulf. Nay, he found a nation that had lost in a measure its primitive faith in the grand ideas of its own Constitution; and he left that nation so instructed and renewed, so aware of the supremacy of principles over forces, so committed to the justice and the liberty which its founders had valued, that the era of his power has been the era of its new birth; that its history forever will be noble and more luminous for his inspirations.

"From the topmost achievment yet realized of man, he has stepped to the skies. He leads henceforth the hosts whom he marshalled, and who at his word went forth to battle, on plains invisible to our short sight. He stands side by side, once more, with the orator, so cultured and renowned, with whom he stood on the heights of Gettysburg; but now on hills where rise no graves, and on which march in shining ranks, with trumpet-swell and palms of triumph, immortal hosts. He is with the fathers and founders of the republic, whose cherished plans he carried out, whose faith and hope had, in his work,

their great fruition. He is with all the great builders of States, who, working in earnest faith and hope, and with true consecration, have laid the foundations of human progress and made mankind their constant debtors. The heavens are his home, but the world and its records will take care of his fame; for of all whom he meets and dwells with there, no one has held a higher trust, no one has been more loyal to it, no one has left a work behind more rich and vast; and so long as the government which he re-established shall continue to endure, so long as the continent which he made again the home of one nation, shall hold that nation within its compass and shall continue to attract to its bosom the liberty-loving from every land, so long as the people which he emancipated shall make the palmetto and the orange tree quiver with the hymns of its jubilee, so long as the race which he has set forward shall continue to advance through brightening paths to the future that waits for its swift steps, a fame as familiar as any among men, a character as distinguished and an influence as wide, will be the fame, the character, and the influence of him who came four years ago, an unknown man from his home in the West, but who has now written in letters of light on pages as grand and as splendid as any in the history of the world, the illustrious name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

THE END.